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REPUBLIC OR EMPIRE?

THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION

WITHDRAWN

BY

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PREFACE.

The Spanish-American war has involved the people of the United States in the discussion of a question entirely new to the present generation, a question of such vast importance that its final settlement will form an epoch in the history of the nation. The treaty of peace, now concluded, provides for the relinquishment by Spain of sovereignty over Cuba and also for the cession of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands to the United States.

The President has assured the people of Cuba that the only purpose of our government is to establish a stable and independent government upon the island. The recognition of the right of the people to independence relegates the Cuban question to a matter of detail. The people of Porto Rico seem to desire annexation to the United States, and since that island is a part of the Western Hemisphere and of great strategic advantage to this nation, there is practically no opposition to the incorporation of Porto Rico within the Union.

The Philippine question, however, is still an unsettled one. While the treaty has been ratified, yet the vote was very close, and favorable action could not be secured until an understanding was reached that ratification would not determine the future status of the Filipinos.

The Bacon resolution, which read as follows:

"Resolved further, That the United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise per-

manent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said islands, and assert their determination, when a stable and independent government shall have been erected therein, entitled in the judgment of the Government of the United States to recognition as such, to transfer to said government upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people,"

was only defeated by the vote of the Vice-President.

The McEnery resolution reading as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain, it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States; but it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands,"

was adopted, being supported by nearly all the Senators who opposed the Bacon resolution.

The latter resolution expressly leaves for future determination the policy of the United States respecting the islands. President McKinley, in his Boston speech, emphasized the declaration that the Philippine problem is now in the hands of the American people for solution.

Republic or empire, which shall it be? A republic, dedicated to the doctrine that all men are created equal, and that governments derive their just powers from

the consent of the governed, or an empire, in which alien races are brought into subjection by force and governed without representation?

In order to place before the public the best arguments thus far produced against the adoption of a colonial policy, the publishers have collected and herewith present the views of the most eminent men of the nation representing all parties.

Messrs. Bryan, Stevenson, Daniel, Vest, etc., speak from the standpoint of Democrats, and ex-Secretary Carlisle from the standpoint of gold Democracy. Messrs. Hoar, Edmunds, Mason and Johnson look at the subject from the standpoint of Republicans, and Teller, Turner and Towne represent the silver Republicans. Messrs. Weaver, Allen and Butler express the Populist view ; Mr. Carnegie presents the subject from the standpoint of the successful business man, and Mr. Gompers reflects the views of the army of wage-earners. Messrs. Schurz and Adams speak as publicists, Prof. Jordan as an educator, while Rev. Henry van Dyke, Bishops Spalding and Potter, apply to the problem the test of Christianity. The verses of Taylor and Shadwell clothe in poetical language the sentiments which the others express in prose.

It will be seen that the material has been gathered from every section of the country, from Massachusetts to California, from Minnesota to Texas. An appendix has been added, containing the Protocol, the Treaty, and such interesting state correspondence relative to the Philippine question.

Besides the likenesses and autographs of the men whose opinions have been presented, the reader will also find an interesting collection of Philippine views, etc.

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CHAPTER I.

SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS OF HON. W. J. BRYAN ON IMPERIALISM.

INTERVENTION IN CUBA.

"Yes, the time for intervention has arrived. Humanity demands that we shall act. Cuba lies within sight of our shores and the sufferings of her people cannot be ignored unless we, as a nation, have become so engrossed in money making as to be indifferent to distress.

"Intervention may be accompanied by danger and expense, but existence cannot be separated from responsibility and responsibility sometimes leads a nation, as well as an individual, into danger. A neighbor must sometimes incur danger for a neighbor, and a friend for a friend.

"War is a terrible thing and cannot be defended except as a means to an end, and yet it is sometimes the only means by which a necessary end can be secured. The state punishes its own citizens by imprisonment and even death when counsel and persuasion fail. War is the final arbiter between nations when reason and diplomacy are of no avail.

"Spain might not resist intervention; it is to be hoped that she would recognize the right of the United States to act, and immediately withdraw from Cuba, but whether she resents intervention or not, the United States must perform a plain duty.

"Our own interests justify intervention. Spain has governed Cuba so badly as to excite continuous re-

volt, and, after exciting revolt, has shown herself powerless to restore order and enforce law upon the island.

"Spanish rule in Cuba has disturbed the United States, interfered with business, increased the expense of guarding our shores and drawn upon the resources of our people to care for those made destitute by war. We have as much right to demand the cessation of war in the interest of the United States as Spain has to demand its continuance for her benefit.

"If the question is to be settled upon the basis of human rights, surely our people have waited long enough; if, on the other hand, pecuniary interests are to be considered, then it must be remembered that the loss suffered by the United States and Cuba together far exceeds any gain which Spain could reasonably expect to secure even if she had a hope of recovering Cuba by force of arms.

"Spain has only herself to blame for the condition of affairs in Cuba. If she denies to her former subjects the rights of war and calls the Cuban army a mob, let her remember the words of Victor Hugo: 'The mob is the human race in misery.' No nation can afford to make its people miserable.

"If the Cubans prefer death to Spanish rule it must be because Spanish rule has robbed life of joy and hope. If a nation sows the wind it must reap the whirlwind."

FIRST SPEECH AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

"Nebraska is ready to do her part in time of war as well as in time of peace. Her citizens were among the first to give expression to their sympathy with the Cuban patriots, and her representatives in the

Senate and House took a prominent part in the advocacy of armed intervention by the United States.

"When the President issued a call for volunteers Nebraska's quota was promptly furnished and she is prepared to respond to the second and subsequent calls.

"Nebraska's attitude upon the subject does not, however, indicate that the state is inhabited by a contentious or warlike people; it simply means that our people understand both the rights conferred, and the obligations imposed, by proximity to Cuba. Understanding these rights and obligations, they do not shrink from any consequences which may follow the performance of a national duty.

"War is harsh; it is attended by hardship and suffering; it means a vast expenditure of men and money. We may well pray for the coming of the day, promised in Holy Writ, when the swords shall be beaten into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks; but universal peace cannot come until Justice is enthroned throughout the world. Jehovah deals with nations as He deals with men, and for both decrees that the wages of sin is death. Until the right has triumphed in every land and love reigns in every heart government must, as a last resort, appeal to force. As long as the oppressor is deaf to the voice of reason, so long must the citizen accustom his shoulder to the musket and his hand to the saber.

"Our nation exhausted diplomacy in its efforts to secure a peaceable solution of the Cuban question, and only took up arms when it was compelled to choose between war and servile acquiescence in cruelties which would have been a disgrace to barbarism.

"History will vindicate the position taken by the United States in the war with Spain. In saying this I assume that the principles which were invoked in

the inauguration of the war will be observed in its prosecution and conclusion. If, however, a contest undertaken for the sake of humanity degenerates into a war of conquest, we shall find it difficult to meet the charge of having added hypocrisy to greed. Is our national character so weak that we cannot withstand the temptation to appropriate the first piece of land that comes within our reach?

"To inflict upon the enemy all possible harm is legitimate warfare, but shall we contemplate a scheme for the colonization of the Orient merely because our ships won a remarkable victory in the harbor of Manila?

"Our guns destroyed a Spanish fleet, but can they destroy that self-evident truth, that governments derive their just powers, not from superior force, but from the consent of the governed?

"Shall we abandon a just resistance to European encroachment upon the Western hemisphere, in order to mingle in the controversies of Europe and Asia?

"Nebraska, standing midway between the oceans, will contribute her full share toward the protection of our sea coast; her sons will support the flag at home and abroad, wherever the honor and the interests of the nation may require. Nebraska will hold up the hands of the government while the battle rages, and when the war clouds roll away her voice will be heard pleading for the maintenance of those ideas which inspired the founders of our government and gave the nation its proud eminence among the nations of the earth.

"If others turn to thoughts of aggrandizement and yield allegiance to those who clothe land-covetousness in the attractive garb of 'national destiny' the people of Nebraska will, if I mistake not their sentiments, plant themselves upon the disclaimer entered by Con-

gress and insist that good faith shall characterize the making of peace as it did the beginning of war. Goldsmith calls upon statesmen

> "'* * * to judge how wide the limits stand
> Betwixt a splendid and a happy land.'

"If some dream of the splendors of a heterogeneous empire encircling the globe, we shall be content to aid in bringing enduring happiness to a homogeneous people, consecrated to the purpose of maintaining a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

[Extract from speech delivered at Trans-Mississippi Exposition, Omaha, Neb., June 14, 1898]

THE SAVANNAH INTERVIEW.

"My reason for leaving the army was set forth in my letter to the adjutant-general tendering my resignation. Now that the treaty of peace has been concluded I believe that I can be more useful to my country as a civilian than as a soldier.

"I may be in error, but in my judgment our nation is in greater danger just now than Cuba. Our people defended Cuba against foreign arms; now they must defend themselves and their country against a foreign idea—the colonial idea of European nations. Heretofore greed has perverted the government and used its instrumentalities for private gains, but now the very foundation principles of our government are assaulted. Our nation must give up any intention of entering upon a colonial policy, such as is now pursued by European countries, or it must abandon the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

"To borrow a Bible quotation, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' Paraphrasing Lincoln's

declaration, I may add that this nation cannot endure half republic and half colony—half free and half vassal. Our form of government, our traditions, our present interests and our future welfare, all forbid our entering upon a career of conquest.

"Jefferson has been quoted in support of imperialism, but our opponents must distinguish between imperialism and expansion; they must also distinguish between expansion in the western hemisphere and an expansion that involves us in the quarrels of Europe and the Orient. They must still further distinguish between expansion which secures contiguous territory for future settlement, and expansion which secures us alien races for future subjugation.

"Jefferson favored the annexation of necessary contiguous territory on the North American continent, but he was opposed to wars of conquest and expressly condemned the acquiring of remote territory.

"Some think that the fight should be made against ratification of the treaty, but I would prefer another plan. If the treaty is rejected, negotiations must be renewed and instead of settling the question according to our ideas we must settle it by diplomacy, with the possibility of international complications. It will be easier, I think, to end the war at once by ratifying the treaty and then deal with the subject in our own way. The issue can be presented directly by a resolution of Congress declaring the policy of the nation upon this subject. The President in his message says that our only purpose in taking possession of Cuba is to establish a stable government and then turn that government over to the people of Cuba. Congress could reaffirm this purpose in regard to Cuba and assert the same purpose in regard to the Philippines and Porto Rico. Such a resolution would make a clear-cut issue between the doctrine of self-govern-

A TYPICAL RESIDENCE, MANILA.

ment and the doctrine of imperialism. We should reserve a harbor and coaling station in Porto Rico and the Philippines in return for services rendered and I think we would be justified in asking the same concession from Cuba.

"In the case of Porto Rico, where the people have as yet expressed no desire for an independent government, we might with propriety declare our willingness to annex the island if the citizens desire annexation, but the Philippines are too far away and their people too different from ours to be annexed to the United States, even if they desired it."

[Interview at Savannah, Ga., December 13, 1898.]

THE NATIONAL EMBLEM.

"The flag is a national emblem and is obedient to the national will. It was made for the people, not the people for the flag. When the American people want the flag raised, they raise it; when they want it hauled down, they haul it down. The flag was raised upon Canadian soil during the war of 1812 and it was hauled down when peace was restored. The flag was planted upon Chapultepec during the war with Mexico and it was hauled down when the war was over. The morning papers announce that General Lee ordered the flag hauled down in Cuba yesterday, because it was raised too soon. The flag will be raised in Cuba again on the 1st of January, but the President declares in his message that it will be hauled down as soon as a stable government is established. Who will deny to our people the right to haul the flag down in the Philippines, if they so desire, when a stable government is established there?

"Our flag stands for an indissoluble union of in-

destructible states. Every state is represented by a star and every territory sees in the constitution a star of hope that will some day take its place in the constellation. What is there in the flag to awaken the zeal or reflect the aspirations of vassal colonies which are too good to be cast away, but not good enough to be admitted to the sisterhood of states?

"Shall we keep the Philippines and amend our flag? Shall we add a new star—the blood-star, Mars—to indicate that we have entered upon a career of conquest? Or shall we borrow the yellow, which in 1896 was the badge of gold and greed, and paint Saturn and his rings, to suggest a carpet-bag government, with its schemes of spoliation? Or shall we adorn our flag with a milky way composed of a multitude of minor stars representing remote and insignificant dependencies?

"No, a thousand times better that we haul down the stars and stripes and substitute the flag of an independent republic than surrender the doctrines that give glory to 'Old Glory.' It was the flag of our fathers in the years that are gone; it is the flag of a reunited country to-day; let it be the flag of our nation in the years that are to come. Its stripes of red tell of the blood that was shed to purchase liberty; its stripes of white proclaim the pure and heaven-born purpose of a government which derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. The mission of that flag is to float—not over a conglomeration of commonwealths and colonies—but over 'the land of the free and the home of the brave;' and to that mission it must remain forever true—forever true."

[Extract from speech delivered at Lincoln, Neb., December 23, 1898, at reception tendered by The Woman's Bimetallic League, The Lancaster County Bimetallic League, and The University Bimetallic Club.]

"WHO SAVES HIS COUNTRY SAVES HIMSELF."

"You have labored diligently to prevent foreign financiers from disregarding the rights of the American people; now you are called upon to use your influence to prevent the American people from disregarding the rights of others. Self-restraint is a difficult virtue to practice. Solomon says that 'he that ruleth his own spirit is better than he that taketh a city.' The American people have shown that they can take a city; will they be able to restrain the spirit of conquest?

"It has been the boast of our nation that right makes might; shall we abandon the motto of the republic and go back a century to the monarchical motto which asserts that might makes right?

"Be not carried away by the excitement incident to war; it will soon subside. Our people will turn again to the paths of peace; justice will resume her reign.

"Be steadfast in the faith of the fathers; your fight is for yourselves as well as for your country. In the words of the distinguished Georgian, Hill: 'Who saves his country saves himself—and all things saved do bless him. Who lets his country die, lets all things die, dies himself ignobly—and all things, dying, curse him.'

"Imperialism finds its inspiration in dollars, not in duty. It is not our duty to burden our people with increased taxes in order to give a few speculators an opportunity for exploitation; it is not our duty to sacrifice the best blood of our nation in tropical jungles in an attempt to stifle the very sentiments which have given vitality to American institutions; it is not our duty to deny to the people of the Philippines the rights

for which our forefathers fought from Bunker Hill to Yorktown.

"Our nation has a mission, but it is to liberate those who are in bondage—not to place shackles upon those who are struggling to be free.

"We rejoice in the marvelous victory won by Dewey in Manila Bay; we would give to him a sacred place in history and crown his memory with blessings. To us he is a hero; to the Filipinos he can be a savior. Let him be known to posterity, not as the subjugator of an alien race, but as the redeemer of an oppressed people—not as a Lord Clive, but as a La Fayette. The gratitude of a people is better than a jeweled sword."

[Extract from speech delivered at Nebraska Traveling Men's Bryan Club banquet, Lincoln, Neb., December 31, 1898.]

CINCINNATI SPEECH.

"The sentiment of the people upon any great question must be measured during the days of deliberation and not during the hours of excitement. A good man will sometimes be engaged in a fight, but it is not reasonable to expect a judicial opinion from him until he has had time to wash the blood off his face.

"I have seen a herd of mild-eyed, gentle kine transferred into infuriated beasts by the sight and scent of blood, and I have seen the same animals quiet and peaceful again in a few hours.

"We have much of the animal in us still in spite of civilizing processes. It is not unnatural that our people should be more sanguinary immediately after a battle than they were before, but it is only a question of time when reflection will restore the condi-

tions which existed before this nation became engaged in the war with Spain.

"When men are excited they talk about what they can do; when they are calm they talk about what they ought to do.

"If the President rightly interpreted the feelings of the people when they were intoxicated by a military triumph we shall appeal from 'Philip drunk to Philip sober.' The forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands would violate a principle of American public law deeply imbedded in the American mind.

"It is difficult to overestimate the influence which such a change in our national policy would produce on the character of our people. Our opponents ask, is our nation not great enough to do what England, Germany and Holland are doing? They inquire, can we not govern colonies as well as they?

"Whether we can govern colonies as well as other countries can is not material; the real question is whether we can, in one hemisphere, develop the theory that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, and at the same time inaugurate, support and defend in the other hemisphere a government which derives its authority entirely from superior force.

"And if these two ideas of government cannot live together which one shall we choose? To defend forcible annexation on the ground that we are carrying out a religious duty is worse than absurd.

"The Bible teaches us that it is more blessed to give than to receive, while the colonial policy is based upon the doctrine that it is more blessed to take than to leave. I am afraid that the imperialists have confused the beatitudes.

"I once heard of a man who mixed up the parable

of the good Samaritan with the parable of the sower, and in attempting to repeat the former, said:

"'A man went from Jerusalem to Jericho and as he went he fell among thorns and the thorns sprang up and choked him.'

"We entered the Spanish war as peacemakers. Imperialists have an indistinct recollection that a blessing has been promised to the peacemakers and also to the meek, but their desire for more territory has perverted their memories, so that, as they recall the former, it reads: 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the earth.'

"The meek are to inherit the earth, but the imperialists can hardly be classed among the meek.

"Annexation cannot be defended upon the ground that we shall find a pecuniary profit in the policy. The advantage which may come to a few individuals who hold the offices or who secure valuable franchises cannot properly be weighed against the money expended in governing the Philippines, because the money expended will be paid by those who pay the taxes.

"We are not yet in position to determine whether the people of the United States as a whole will bring back from the Philippines as much as they send there. There is an old saying that it is not profitable to buy a lawsuit. Our nation may learn by experience that it is not wise to purchase the right to conquer a people.

"Spain, under compulsion, gives us a quit-claim to the Philippines in return for $20,000,000, but she does not agree to warrant and defend our title as against the Filipinos.

"To buy land is one thing; to buy people is another. Land is inanimate and makes no resistance to a transfer of title; the people are animate and sometimes desire a voice in their own affairs. But whether, meas-

ured by dollars and cents, the conquest of the Philippines would prove profitable or expensive, it will certainly prove embarrassing to those who still hold to the doctrine which underlies a republic.

"Military rule is antagonistic to our theory of government. The arguments which are used to defend it in the Philippines may be used to execute it in the United States.

"Under military rule much must be left to the discretion of the Military Governor, and this can only be justified upon the theory that the Governor knows more than the people whom he governs, is better acquainted with their needs than they are themselves, is entirely in sympathy with them, and is thoroughly honest and unselfish in his desire to do them good.

"Such a combination of wisdom, integrity and love is difficult to find and the Republican party will enter upon a hard task when it starts out to select suitable military Governors for our remote possessions.

"Even if the party has absolute confidence in its great political manager, Senator Hanna, it must be remembered that the people of Ohio have compelled him to serve them in the United States Senate, and that inferior men must be intrusted with the distribution of justice and benevolence among the nation's dark-skinned subjects in the Pacific.

"If we enter upon a colonial policy, we must expect to hear the command 'Silence' issuing with increasing emphasis from the imperialists. If a member of Congress attempts to criticise any injustice perpetrated by a government official against a helpless people he will be warned to keep silent lest his criticisms encourage resistance to American authority in the Orient.

"If an orator on the Fourth of July dares to speak of inalienable rights or refers with commendation to the manner in which our forefathers resisted taxation

without representation he will be warned to keep silent lest his utterances excite rebellion among distant subjects.

"If we adopt a colonial policy and pursue the course which incited the revolution of 1776 we must muffle the tones of the old Liberty Bell and commune in whispers when we praise the patriotism of our forefathers.

"We cannot afford to destroy the Declaration of Independence; we cannot afford to erase from our constitutions, State and national, the bill of rights; we have not time to examine the libraries of the nation and purge them of the essays, the speeches, and the books that defend the doctrine that law is the crystallization of public opinion, rather than an emanation from physical power.

"But even if we could destroy every vestige of the laws which are the outgrowth of the immortal document penned by Jefferson; if we could obliterate every written word that has been inspired by the idea that this is 'a government of the people, by the people, and for the people,' we could not tear from the heart of the human race the hope which the American republic has planted there. The impassioned appeal, 'Give me liberty or give me death,' still echoes around the world.

"In the future, as in the past, the desire to be free will be stronger than the desire to enjoy a mere physical existence. The conflict between right and might will continue here and everywhere until a day is reached when the love of money will no longer sear the national conscience and hypocrisy no longer hide the hideous features of avarice behind the mask of philanthropy."

[Extract from speech delivered at Duckworth Club Banquet, Cincinnati, O., January 6, 1899.]

JACKSON DAY SPEECH AT CHICAGO.

"Those who advocate the annexation of the Philippines call themselves expansionists, but they are really imperialists. The word expansion would describe the acquisition of territory to be populated by homogeneous people and to be carved into states like those now in existence. An empire suggests variety in race and diversity in government. The Imperialists do not desire to clothe the Filipinos with all the rights and privileges of American citizenship; they want to exercise sovereignty over an alien race and they expect to rule the new subjects upon a theory entirely at variance with constitutional government. Victoria is Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India; shall we change the title of our executive and call him the President of the United States and Emperor of the Philippines?

"The Democratic party stood for the money of the Constitution in 1896; it stands for the government of the Constitution now.

"It opposed an English financial policy in 1896; it opposes an English colonial policy now. Those who in 1896 were in favor of turning the American people over to the greed of foreign financiers and domestic trusts may now be willing to turn the Filipinos over to the tender mercies of military governors and carpet-bag officials.

"Those who in 1896 thought the people of the United States too weak to attend to their own business may now think them strong enough to attend to the business of remote and alien races; but those who, in 1896, fought for independence for the American people will not now withhold independence from those who desire it elsewhere.

"We are told that the Filipinos are not capable of

self-government; that has a familiar ring. Only two years ago I heard the same argument made against a very respectable minority of the people of this country. The money loaners, who coerced borrowers, did it upon that theory; the employers who coerced their employes did it for the same reason. Self-government is a constant education; the capacity for self-government increases with participation in government. The Filipinos are not far enough advanced to share in the government of the people of the United States, but they are competent to govern themselves. It is not fair to compare them with our own citizens, because the American people have been educating themselves in the science of government for nearly three centuries and, while we have much to learn, we have already made great improvement. The Filipinos will not establish a perfect government, but they will establish a government as nearly perfect as they are competent to enjoy and the United States can protect them from molestation from without.

"Give the Filipinos time and opportunity, and while they never will catch up with us, unless we cease to improve, yet they may some day stand where we stand now.

"What excuse can be given for the adoption of a colonial policy? Secretary Gage disclosed the secret in his Savannah speech. I think we might be justified in calling Mr. Gage the key-hole of the administration, because we look through him to learn what is going on within the executive council chamber. He suggested that 'philanthropy and five per cent' would go hand in hand in the new venture. These are the two arguments which are always used in favor of conquest. 'Philanthropy and five per cent.' The one chloroforms the conscience of the conqueror and the other picks the pocket of the conquered.

"Some assert that we must hold the islands because of the pecuniary profit to be derived from them, while others say that it is our duty to govern the Filipinos for their own good. I deny the soundness of both arguments. Forcible annexation will not only be 'criminal aggression' (to borrow Mr. McKinley's language of a year ago), but it will cost more than it is worth, and the whole people will pay the cost, while a few will reap all the benefits.

"Still weaker is the argument based upon religious duty. The Christian religion rests upon the doctrine of vicarious suffering; the colonial policy rests upon the doctrine of vicarious enjoyment.

"When the desire to steal becomes uncontrollable in an individual he is declared to be a kleptomaniac and is sent to an asylum; when the desire to grab land becomes uncontrollable in a nation we are told that the 'currents of destiny are flowing through the hearts of men' and that the American people are entering upon 'a manifest mission.'

"Shame upon a logic which locks up the petty offender and enthrones grand larceny. Have the people returned to the worship of the Golden Calf? Have they made unto themselves a new commandment consistent with the spirit of conquest and the lust for empire? Is 'thou shalt not steal upon a small scale' to be substituted for the law of Moses?

"Awake O ancient Law-Giver, awake! Break forth from thine unmarked sepulchre and speed thee back to cloud-crowned Sinai; commune once more with the God of our fathers and proclaim again the words engraven upon the tables of stone—the law that was, the law that is to-day—the law that neither individual nor nation can violate with impunity."

[Extract from speech delivered at banquet of Bryan League, Chicago, Ill., January 7, 1899.]

NABOTH'S VINEYARD.

"The Bible tells us that Ahab, the king, wanted the vineyard of Naboth and was sorely grieved because the owner thereof refused to part with the inheritance of his fathers. Then followed a plot, and false charges were preferred against Naboth to furnish an excuse for getting rid of him.

"'Thou shalt not covet!' 'Thou shalt not bear false witness!' 'Thou shalt not kill'—three commandments broken, and still a fourth, 'Thou shalt not steal,' to be broken in order to get a little piece of ground! And what was the result? When the king went forth to take possession Elijah, that brave old prophet of the early days, met him and pronounced against him the sentence of the Almighty: 'In the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall the dogs lick thy blood, even thine.'

"Neither his own exalted position nor the lowly station of his victim could save him from the avenging hand of outraged justice. His case was tried in a court where neither wealth, nor rank, nor power can shield the transgressor.

"Wars of conquest have their origin in covetousness, and the history of the human race has been written in characters of blood because rulers have looked with longing eyes upon the lands of others.

"Covetousness is prone to seek the aid of false pretence to carry out its plans, but what it cannot secure by persuasion it takes by the sword.

"Senator Teller's amendment to the intervention resolution saved the Cubans from the covetousness of those who are so anxious to secure possession of the island, that they are willing to deny the truth of the

declaration of our own Congress, that 'the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free.'"

* * *

"Imperialism might expand the nation's territory, but it would contract the nation's purpose. It is not a step forward toward a broader destiny; it is a step backward, toward the narrow views of kings and emperors.

"Dr. Taylor has aptly expressed it in his 'Creed of the Flag,' when he asks:

> **'Shall we turn to the old world again**
> **With the penitent prodigal's cry?'**

"I answer, never. This republic is not a prodigal son; it has not spent its substance in riotous living. It is not ready to retrace its steps and, with shamed face and trembling voice, solicit an humble place among the servants of royalty. It has not sinned against Heaven, and God grant that the crowned heads of Europe may never have occasion to kill the fatted calf to commemorate its return from reliance upon the will of the people to dependence upon the authority which flows from regal birth or superior force!

"We cannot afford to enter upon a colonial policy. The theory upon which a government is built is a matter of vital importance. The national idea has a controlling influence upon the thought and character of the people. Our national idea is self-government, and unless we are ready to abandon that idea forever we cannot ignore it in dealing with the Filipinos.

"That idea is entwined with our traditions; it permeates our history; it is a part of our literature.

"That idea has given eloquence to the orator and inspiration to the poet. Take from our national hymns

the three words, free, freedom and liberty, and they would be as meaningless as would be our flag if robbed of its red, white and blue.

"Other nations may dream of wars of conquest and of distant dependencies governed by external force; not so with the United States.

"The fruits of imperialism, be they bitter or sweet, must be left to the subjects of monarchy. This is the one tree of which the citizens of a republic may not partake. It is the voice of the serpent, not the voice of God, that bids us eat."

[Extract from speech delivered in Denver, Colo., January 17, 1899, at the joint invitation of the Chairmen of the Democratic, Populist and Silver Republican State Committees.]

LIBERTY, NOT CONQUEST.

The ratification of the treaty, instead of committing the United States to a colonial policy, really clears the way for the recognition of a Philippine republic. Lincoln, in his first inaugural message, condensed an unanswerable argument into a brief question when he asked, "Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws?" The same argument is presented in the question, Could the independence of the Filipinos be secured more easily by diplomacy from a foreign and hostile nation than it can through laws passed by Congress and voicing the sentiments of the American people alone? If independence is more desirable to our people than a colonial policy who is there or what is there to prevent the recognition of Philippine independence? It is absurd to say that the United States can be transformed from a republic into an empire without consulting the voters.

The imperialists may be willing to deny to the

Filipinos the right to govern themselves, but they cannot deny to the American people the right to determine the policy to be pursued by the United States in the settlement of the Philippine question.

Until the people express themselves we can only guess at their views, but is it not safer to suppose that they will adhere to the ideas and policies of a century than to assume that they will go back to the creed of kings and to the gospel of force?

In commemoration of the fact that France was our ally in securing independence the citizens of that nation joined with the citizens of the United States in placing in New York Harbor an heroic statue representing Liberty enlightening the world. What course shall our nation pursue? Send the statue of Liberty back to France and borrow from England a statue of William the Conqueror? Or shall our nation so act as to enable the American people to join with the Filipinos in placing in the harbor of Manila a statue of Liberty enlightening the Orient?

[Extract from speech delivered at Democratic banquet, St. Paul, Minn., February 14, 1899.]

IT RESTS WITH THE PEOPLE.

"The President, in his Boston speech, has declared that the future of the Philippines is in the hands of the American people. This is all that has been contended for by the opponents of the forcible and permanent annexation of the Philippine Islands. If the matter is in the hands of the American people, then it is a subject for discussion by the American people, and the only question to be considered and decided is whether the permanent retention of the Philippine Islands is desirable. In considering what

is desirable we must consider what is best for the people of the United States, and what is best for the Filipinos. Those who oppose the colonial policy deny that the adoption of such a policy by this nation would be beneficial either to the United States or to the alien race over which our sovereignty would be extended.

"The sooner the question is settled the better. It is putting the cart before the horse to say that the nation cannot reveal its purpose until the Filipinos lay down their arms. If the nation would declare its intention to establish a stable and independent government in the Philippines and then leave that government in the hands of the people of the islands, hostilities would be suspended at once, and further bloodshed would be avoided.

"What would our colonists have thought of a demand upon the part of England that we first lay down our arms and surrender to the king, and then trust to the decision that he would make? Now that the treaty has been ratified and Spain eliminated from the question, the American people are free to take such action as the circumstances require. Shall our nation enter upon a career of conquest and substitute the doctrine of force for the power of example and the influence of counsel?

"Our forefathers fought for independence under a banner upon which was inscribed the motto, 'Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute.' And so those who to-day not only desire American independence, but are willing to encourage the idea of independence and self-government in other races can fight under a banner upon which is inscribed a similar motto: 'Millions for defense, but not one cent for conquest.'

"Some of the advocates of a colonial policy have

A COUNTRY SCENE IN LUZON ISLAND, SHOWING BRIDGE.

sought to lay upon those who opposed the ratification of the treaty the responsibility for the recent bloodshed at Manila. While I believed, and still believe, that it was better to ratify the treaty and make the fight for Philippine independence before the American people rather than through diplomatic negotiations with Spain, I deny that the Senators who opposed ratification were in any way responsible for the commencement of hostilities.

"The responsibility rests, not upon those who opposed the treaty, but upon those who refused to disclose the nation's purpose, and left the Filipinos to believe that their fight against Spain, instead of bringing them independence, had only brought them a change of masters. It was the desire to be independent that led the Filipinos to resist American authority, and their desire for independence was not inspired by any American opposition to the terms of the treaty. It will be remembered that the Filipinos issued a declaration of independence last summer, before the treaty was negotiated. Opposition to the treaty could not have caused a desire for independence which was expressed before the treaty was made. If it was wrong for any one in this country to inspire in other races a desire for self-government, the imperialists cannot confine their reproaches to the living. They must lay the blame upon American statesmen long since dead. Patrick Henry was responsible to some extent, because the sentiments he expressed in his speech have found a lodgment in the hearts of all races.

"Washington must also be blamed, for when he drew his sword in defense of the rights of the colonists, he gave inspiration to all similarly situated. Jefferson was largely to blame, because the Declaration of Independence, the work of his pen, has been

an inspiration to the lovers of liberty in every clime.

"Abraham Lincoln cannot escape his share of blame if those are to be blamed who have aroused among the oppressed a desire for participation in the government under which they live. When the great emancipator delivered his speech at Gettysburg, and appealed to the people of the United States to so act that 'a government of the people, for the people, and by the people shall not perish from the earth,' he did more to stimulate the desire for self-government than has been done by any other public man in half a century.

"The American people cannot apply the European and monarchical doctrine of force in the subjugation and government of alien races and at the same time stand forth as defenders of the principles embodied in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. A man may live a double life when only one of his lives is known, but as soon as his duplicity becomes manifest to the world he can lead but one life, and that the worst. As soon as we establish two forms of government, one by consent in this country and the other by force in Asia, we shall cease to have the influence of a republic and shall join in the spoliation of helpless people under the pretense of conferring upon them unsought and undesired blessings.

"Independence for the Filipinos under a protectorate which will guard them from outside interference while they work out their own destiny is consistent with American tradition, American history, and American interests. The sooner the declaration is made the better."

[Extract from speech delivered at State University, Ann Arbor, Mich., February 18, 1899.]

AMERICA'S MISSION.

When the advocates of imperialism find it impossible to reconcile a colonial policy with the principles of our government or with the canons of morality; when they are unable to defend it upon the ground of religious duty or pecuniary profit, they fall back in helpless despair upon the assertion that it is destiny. "Suppose it does violate the constitution," they say; "suppose it does break all the commandments; suppose it does entail upon the nation an incalculable expenditure of blood and money; it is destiny and we must submit."

The people have not voted for imperialism; no national convention has declared for it; no Congress has passed upon it. To whom, then, has the future been revealed? Whence this voice of authority? We can all prophesy, but our prophesies are merely guesses, colored by our hopes and our surroundings. Man's opinion of what is to be is half wish and half environment. Avarice paints destiny with a dollar mark before it, militarism equips it with a sword.

He is the best prophet who, recognizing the omnipotence of truth, comprehends most clearly the great forces which are working out the progress, not of one party, not of one nation, but of the human race.

History is replete with predictions which once wore the hue of destiny, but which failed of fulfillment because those who uttered them saw too small an arc of the circle of events. When Pharaoh pursued the fleeing Israelites to the edge of the Red Sea he was confident that their bondage would be renewed and that they would again make bricks without straw, but destiny was not revealed until Moses and his followers reached the farther shore dry shod and the waves

rolled over the horses and chariots of the Egyptians. When Belshazzar, on the last night of his reign, led his thousand lords into the Babylonian banquet hall and sat down to a table glittering with vessels of silver and gold he felt sure of his kingdom for many years to come, but destiny was not revealed until the hand wrote upon the wall those awe-inspiring words, "Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin." When Abderrahman swept northward with his conquering hosts his imagination saw the Crescent triumphant throughout the world, but destiny was not revealed until Charles Martel raised the cross above the battlefield of Tours and saved Europe from the sword of Mohammedanism. When Napoleon emerged victorious from Marengo, from Ulm and from Austerlitz he thought himself the child of destiny, but destiny was not revealed until Blücher's forces joined the army of Wellington and the vanquished Corsican began his melancholy march toward St. Helena. When the redcoats of George the Third routed the New Englanders at Lexington and Bunker Hill there arose before the British sovereign visions of colonies taxed without representation and drained of their wealth by foreign-made laws, but destiny was not revealed until the surrender of Cornwallis completed the work begun at Independence Hall and ushered into existence a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

We have reached another crisis. The ancient doctrine of imperialism, banished from our land more than a century ago, has recrossed the Atlantic and challenged democracy to mortal combat upon American soil.

Whether the Spanish war shall be known in history as a war for liberty or as a war of conquest; whether the principles of self-government shall be strength-

ened or abandoned; whether this nation shall remain a homogeneous republic or become a heterogeneous empire—these questions must be answered by the American people—when they speak, and not until then, will destiny be revealed.

Destiny is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved.

No one can see the end from the beginning, but every one can make his course an honorable one from beginning to end, by adhering to the right under all circumstances. Whether a man steals much or little may depend upon his opportunities, but whether he steals at all depends upon his own volition.

So with our nation. If we embark upon a career of conquest no one can tell how many islands we may be able to seize or how many races we may be able to subjugate; neither can any one estimate the cost, immediate and remote, to the nation's purse and to the nation's character, but whether we shall enter upon such a career is a question which the people have a right to decide for themselves.

Unexpected events may retard or advance the nation's growth, but the nation's purpose determines its destiny.

What is the nation's purpose?

The main purpose of the founders of our government was to secure for themselves and for posterity the blessings of liberty, and that purpose has been faithfully followed up to this time. Our statesmen have opposed each other upon economic questions, but they have agreed in defending self-government as the controlling national idea. They have quarreled among themselves over tariff and finance, but they have been united in their opposition to an entangling alliance with any European power.

Under this policy our nation has grown in numbers and in strength. Under this policy its beneficent influence has encircled the globe. Under this policy the taxpayers have been spared the burden and the menace of a large military establishment and the young men have been taught the arts of peace rather than the science of war. On each returning Fourth of July our people have met to celebrate the signing of the Declaration of Independence; their hearts have renewed their vows to free institutions and their voices have praised the forefathers whose wisdom and courage and patriotism made it possible for each succeeding generation to repeat the words,

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of Liberty,
Of thee I sing."

This sentiment was well-nigh universal until a year ago. It was to this sentiment that the Cuban insurgents appealed; it was this sentiment that impelled our people to enter into the war with Spain. Have the people so changed within a few short months that they are now willing to apologize for the War of the Revolution and force upon the Filipinos the same system of government against which the colonists protested with fire and sword?

The hour of temptation has come, but temptations do not destroy, they merely test the strength of individuals and nations; they are stumbling blocks or stepping-stones; they lead to infamy or fame, according to the use made of them.

Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen served together in the Continental army and both were offered British gold. Arnold yielded to the temptation and made his name a synonym for treason; Allen resisted and lives in the affections of his countrymen.

Our nation is tempted to depart from its "standard

of morality" and adopt a policy of "criminal aggression." But, will it yield?

If I mistake not the sentiment of the American people they will spurn the bribe of imperialism, and, by resisting temptation, win such a victory as has not been won since the battle of Yorktown. Let it be written of the United States: Behold a republic that took up arms to aid a neighboring people, struggling to be free; a republic that, in the progress of the war, helped distant races whose wrongs were not in contemplation when hostilities began; a republic that, when peace was restored, turned a deaf ear to the clamorous voice of greed and to those borne down by the weight of a foreign yoke spoke the welcome words, Stand up; be free—let this be the record made on history's page and the silent example of this republic, true to its principles in the hour of trial, will do more to extend the area of self-government and civilization than could be done by all the wars of conquest that we could wage in a generation.

The forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands is not necessary to make the United States a world-power. For over ten decades our nation has been a world-power. During its brief existence it has exerted upon the human race an influence more potent for good than all the other nations of the earth combined, and it has exerted that influence without the use of sword or Gatling gun. Mexico and the republics of Central and South America testify to the benign influence of our institutions, while Europe and Asia give evidence of the working of the leaven of self-government. In the growth of democracy we observe the triumphant march of an idea—an idea that would be weighted down rather than aided by the armor and weapons proffered by imperialism.

Much has been said of late about Anglo-Saxon

civilization. Far be it from me to detract from the service rendered to the world by the sturdy race whose language we speak. The union of the Angle and the Saxon formed a new and valuable type, but the process of race evolution was not completed when the Angle and the Saxon met. A still later type has appeared which is superior to any which has existed heretofore; and with this new type will come a higher civilization than any which has preceded it. Great has been the Greek, the Latin, the Slav, the Celt, the Teuton and the Anglo-Saxon, but greater than any of these is the American, in whom are blended the virtues of them all.

Civil and religious liberty, universal education and the right to participate, directly or through representatives chosen by himself, in all the affairs of government—these give to the American citizen an opportunity and an inspiration which can be found nowhere else.

Standing upon the vantage ground already gained the American people can aspire to a grander destiny than has opened before any other race.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to protect his own rights, American civilization will teach him to respect the rights of others.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to take care of himself, American civilization, proclaiming the equality of all before the law, will teach him that his own highest good requires the observance of the commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Anglo-Saxon civilization has, by force of arms, applied the art of government to other races for the benefit of Anglo-Saxons, American civilization will, by the influence of example, excite in other races a

desire for self-government and a determination to secure it.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has carried its flag to every clime and defended it with forts and garrisons. American civilization will imprint its flag upon the hearts of all who long for freedom.

To American civilization, all hail!

"Time's noblest offspring is the last!"

[Extract from speech delivered at Washington Day banquet given by the Virginia Democratic Association at Washington, D. C., February 22, 1899.]

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLES WRITTEN BY HON. W. J. BRYAN ON IMPERIALISM.

JEFFERSON VERSUS IMPERIALISM.

The advocates of imperialism have sought to support their position by appealing to the authority of Jefferson. Of all the statesmen who have ever lived, Jefferson was the one most hostile to the doctrines embodied in the demand for a European colonial policy.

Imperialism, as it now presents itself, embraces four distinct propositions:

1. That the acquisition of territory by conquest is right.

2. That the acquisition of remote territory is desirable.

3. That the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is unsound.

4. That people can be wisely governed by aliens.

To all these propositions Jefferson was emphatically opposed. In a letter to William Short, written in 1791, he said:

"If there be one principle more deeply written than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest."

Could he be more explicit? Here we have a clear and strong denunciation of the doctrine that territory should be acquired by force. If it is said that we have outgrown the ideas of the fathers, it may be ob-

served that the doctrine laid down by Jefferson was reiterated only a few years ago by no less a Republican than James G. Blaine. All remember the enthusiasm with which he entered into the work of bringing the Republics of North and South America into close and cordial relations; some, however, may have forgotten the resolutions introduced by him at the conference held in 1890, and approved by the commissioners present. They are as follows:

"First. That the principle of conquest shall not, during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law.

"Second. That all cessions of territory made during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration shall be void if made under threats of war or in the presence of an armed force.

"Third. Any nation from which such cessions shall be exacted may demand that the validity of the cessions so made shall be submitted to arbitration.

"Fourth. Any renunciation of the right to arbitration made under the conditions named in the second section shall be null and void."

If the principle of conquest is right, why should it be denied a place in American public law? So objectionable is the theory of acquisition of territory by conquest that the nation which suffers such injustice can, according to the resolutions, recover by arbitration the land ceded in the presence of an armed force. So abhorrent is it, that a waiver of arbitration, made under such circumstances, is null and void. While the resolutions were only for the consideration of the American Republics, the principle therein stated cannot be limited by latitude or longitude.

But this is a time of great and rapid changes and some may even look upon Blaine's official acts as an-

cient history. If so, let it be remembered that President McKinley only a year ago (December 6, 1897), in a message to Congress discussing the Cuban situation, said:

"I speak not of forcible annexation, for that is not to be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression."

And yet some are now thinking of that which was then "not to be thought of." Policy may change, but does a "code of morality" change? In his recent speech at Savannah Secretary Gage, in defending the new policy of the administration, suggested that "philanthropy and five per cent" may go hand in hand. Surely we know not what a day may bring forth, if in so short a time "criminal aggression" can be transformed into "philanthropy and five per cent." What beauty, what riches, the isles of the Pacific must possess if they can tempt our people to abandon not only the traditions of a century, but our standard of national morality! What visions of national greatness the Philippines must arouse if the very sight of them can lead our country to vie with the monarchies of the old world in the extension of sovereignty by force.

Jefferson has been called an expansionist, but our opponents will search in vain for a single instance where he advocated the acquisition of remote territory. On the contrary, he expressly disclaimed any desire for land outside of the North American continent. That he looked forward to the annexation of Cuba is well known, but in a letter to President Monroe, dated June 23, 1823, he suggested that we should be in readiness to receive Cuba "when solicited by herself." To him Cuba was desirable only because of the island's close proximity to the United States. Thinking that someone might use the annexation of Cuba as a precedent for indefinite expansion, he said

in a letter to President Madison, dated April 27, 1809:

"It will be objected to our receiving Cuba that no limit can then be drawn to our future acquisitions," but, he added, "Cuba can be defended by us without a navy, and this develops the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which would require a navy to defend it."

In the same letter, speaking of the possible acquisition of that island, he said:

"I would immediately erect a column on the southernmost limit of Cuba, and inscribe on it a *ne plus ultra* as to us in that direction."

It may be argued that Jefferson was wrong in asserting that we should confine our possessions to the North American continent, but certainly no one can truthfully quote him as an authority for excursions into the eastern hemisphere. If he was unwilling to go farther south than Cuba, even in the western hemisphere, would he be likely to look with favor upon colonies in the Orient?

If the authority of Jefferson cannot be invoked to support the acquisition of remote territory, much less can his great name be used to excuse a colonial policy which denies to the people the right to govern themselves. When he suggested an inscription for his monument he did not enumerate the honors which he had received, though no American had been more highly honored; he only asked to be remembered for what he had done and he named the writing of the Declaration of Independence as the greatest of his deeds. In that memorable document he declared it a self-evident truth that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The defense and development of that doctrine was his special care. His writings abound with expressions showing his devotion to that doctrine and his solici-

tude for it. He preached it in the enthusiasm of his youth; he reiterated it when he reached the age of maturity; he crowned it with benedictions in his old age. Who will say that, if living, he would jeopardize it to-day by engrafting upon it the doctrine of government by external force.

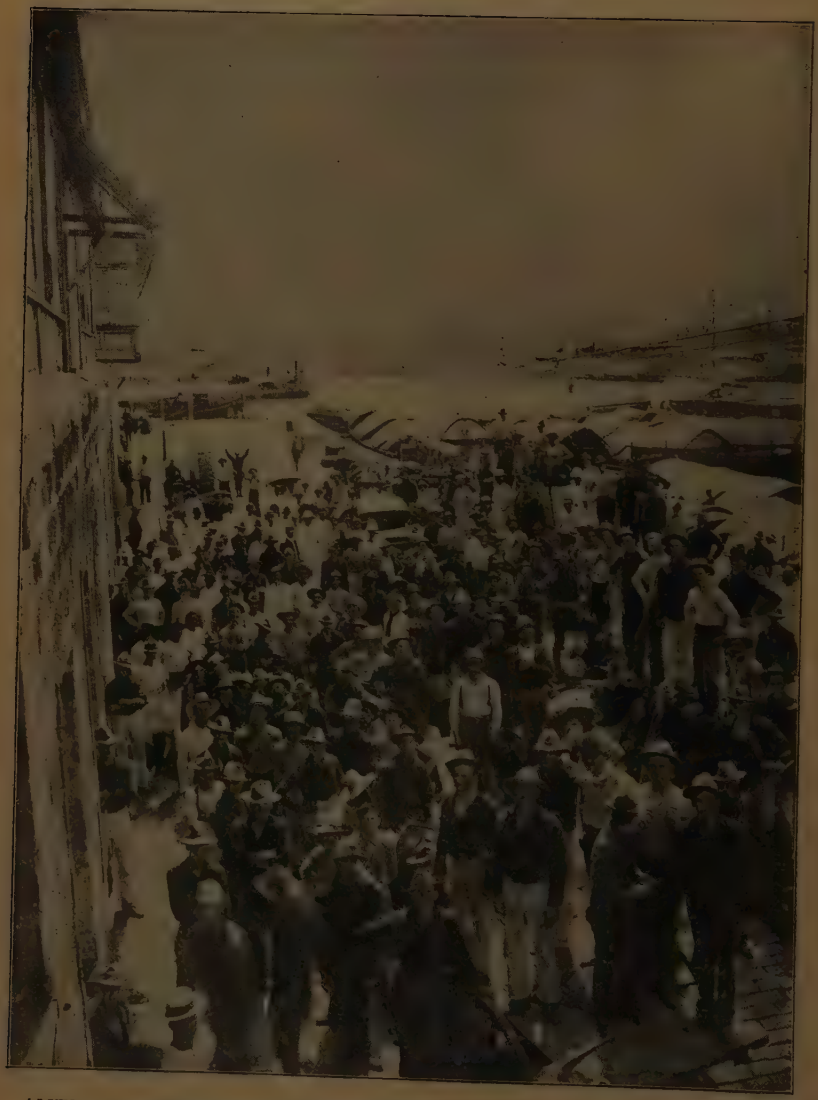
Upon the fourth proposition Jefferson is no less explicit. Now, when some are suggesting the wisdom of a military government for the Philippines, or a colonial system such as England administers in India, it will not be out of place to refer to the manner in which Jefferson viewed the inability of aliens to prescribe laws and administer government. In 1817 a French society was formed for the purpose of settling upon a tract of land near the Tombigbee River. Jefferson was invited to formulate laws and regulations for the society. On the 16th of January of that year he wrote from Monticello expressing his high appreciation of the confidence expressed in him, but declining to undertake the task. The reasons he gave are well worth considering at this time. After wishing them great happiness in their undertaking he said:

"The laws, however, which must effect this must flow from their own habits, their own feelings, and the resources of their own minds. No stranger to these could possibly propose regulations adapted to them. Every people have their own particular habits, ways of thinking, manners, etc., which have grown up with them from their infancy, are become a part of their nature, and to which the regulations which are to make them happy must be accommodated. No member of a foreign country can have a sufficient sympathy with these. The institutions of Lycurgus, for example, would not have suited Athens, nor those of Solon, Lacedæmon. The organizations of Locke

were impracticable for Carolina, and those of Rosseau for Poland. Turning inwardly on myself from these eminent illustrations of the truth of my observation, I feel all the presumption it would manifest should I undertake to do what this respectable society is alone qualified to do suitably for itself."

The alien may possess greater intelligence and greater strength, but he lacks the sympathy for, and the identification with, the people. We have only to recall the grievances enumerated in the Declaration of Independence to learn how an ocean may dilute justice and how the cry of the oppressed can be silenced by distance. And yet the inhabitants of the colonies were the descendants of Englishmen—blood of their blood and bone of their bone. Shall we be more considerate of subjects farther away from us, and differing from us in color, race and tongue, than the English were of their own offspring?

Modest Jefferson!—he had been Governor, Ambassador to France, Vice-President and President; he was ripe in experience and crowned with honors; but this modern lawgiver, this immortal genius, hesitated to suggest laws for a people with whose habits, customs and methods of thought he was unfamiliar. And yet the imperialists of to-day, intoxicated by a taste of blood, are rash enough to enter upon the government of the Filipinos, confident of the nation's ability to compel obedience, even if it cannot earn gratitude or win affection. Plutarch said that men entertained three sentiments concerning the ancient gods: They feared them for their strength, admired them for their wisdom, and loved them for their justice. Jefferson taught the doctrine that governments should win the love of men. What shall be the ambition of our nation; to be loved because it is just or to be feared because it is strong?



AMERICAN SOLDIERS AT COMMISSARY
DEPARTMENT ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER

THE ARMY.

In his annual message sent to Congress December 5, 1898, the President makes the following recommendations in favor of a permanent increase in the standing army:

"The importance of legislation for the permanent increase of the army is therefore manifest, and the recommendation of the Secretary of War for that purpose has my unqualified approval. There can be no question that at this time, and probably for some time in the future, one hundred thousand men will be none too many to meet the necessities of the situation."

It is strange that this request for so large an increase in the permanent army should be asked of a peace-loving people just at the time when the Czar of Russia is urging the nations of the world to join in the reduction of military establishments. But, strange as it may seem, the President not only requests it, but the Republican leaders in Congress seem inclined to grant the request.

Progress in Europe; retrogression in the United States!

In the old world "the currents of destiny" seem to be running in the direction of relief to the people from military burdens; shall they run in an opposite direction here?

During the recent campaign the people were urged to support the party in power until the "fruits of victory" could be made secure. Is the first fruit of victory to be realized in the transfer of a large body of men from the field and workshop to the camp and barracks—from the ranks of the wealth producers to the ranks of the tax consumers? Such a transfer

will lessen the nation's wealth-producing power and at the same time exact a larger annual tribute from those who toil.

Any unnecessary increase in the regular army is open to several objections, among which may be mentioned the following:

First—It increases taxes, and thus does injustice to those who contribute to the support of the Government.

Second—It tends to place force above reason in the structure of our Government.

Third—It lessens the nation's dependence upon its citizen soldiery—the sheet-anchor of a republic's defense.

No one objects to the maintenance of a regular army sufficient in strength to maintain law and order in time of peace and to form the nucleus of such an army as may be required when the military establishment is placed upon a war footing; but the taxpayers are justified in entering a vigorous protest against excessive appropriations for military purposes.

It is not surprising that the protest is most vigorous from the masses, because under our system of taxation the bulk of our Federal revenues is collected from import duties and internal revenue taxes upon liquors and tobaccos, all of which bear most heavily upon the poor. Import duties are collected upon articles used by the people, and the people do not use the articles taxed in proportion to income.

For instance, a man with an income of $100,000 does not eat, nor wear, nor use a hundred times as much of articles taxed as the average man with an income of $1,000. The people with small incomes, therefore, pay, as a rule, a larger percentage of their incomes to support the Federal Government than people with large incomes. The same is true of in-

ternal revenue taxes collected upon liquors and tobaccos. Men do not use liquor and tobacco in proportion to their incomes. Thus it will be seen that our Federal taxes are, in effect, an income tax; not only an income tax, but a graded income tax, and heaviest in proportion upon the smallest incomes.

If we could supply a part of our necessary revenues from a direct income tax the burdens of a large army would be more equitably borne, but, according to the decision of the Supreme Court, the income of an individual is more sacred than the individual, because the citizen can be drafted in time of danger, while his income cannot be taxed either in peace or war.

The army is the impersonation of force. It does not deliberate, it acts; it does not decide, it executes; it does not reason, it shoots.

Militarism is the very antithesis of Democracy; they do not grow in the same soil; they do not draw their nourishment from the same source.

In an army orders come down from the commander to the soldier, and the soldier obeys; in a republic mandates issue from the sovereign people, and the public servant gives heed. If any one doubts the demoralizing results which follow the use of force, even when that force is justified by necessity, let him behold the change which has taken place in the views of many of our people during the last eight months and then estimate, if he can, the far-reaching effect which a large increase in the permanent army would have upon the thoughts, the purposes and the character of our people.

Our Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, and its strength from the people themselves. We cannot afford to weaken the Government's reliance upon the people by cultivating the idea that all the work of war must be done by pro-

fessional soldiers. The citizen is a safer lawmaker when he may be called upon to assist in the enforcement of the laws, and legislation is more likely to be just when the Government relies largely upon volunteers, because the support is surest when the Government is so beneficent that each citizen is willing to die to preserve its blessings to posterity. The readiness with which the American people have always responded to their country's call is a guarantee as to the future.

I have suggested some of the reasons (not all, by any means) why the regular army should not be increased, unless such increase be actually necessary. I now ask whether there is any such necessity for increasing that branch of the army which is held for service in the United States. There may, from time to time, be need of small additions to man new coast fortifications; but what is there in the domestic situation to justify or excuse the demand for more soldiers?

An army of occupation for service in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines is made necessary by the conditions growing out of the war. But such an army is temporary in character, and should not be made a pretext for an increase of 200 per cent in our standing army.

The President assures us, in his last message, that the only purpose our Government has in taking possession of Cuba is to assist the Cubans in establishing a stable government. When that is accomplished our troops are to be withdrawn.

The number needed in the Philippines will depend largely upon the course pursued by the Government in regard to those islands. It will require fewer soldiers and less time to give self-government to the inhabitants of the Philippines than it will to give them a military government or a "carpet-bag" government.

Since our standing army was sufficient for all domestic purposes prior to the war, and since there is much uncertainty in regard to the army of occupation, it would seem the part of wisdom to separate the two branches of the service and make provision at once for the latter, leaving the friends and opponents of a large standing army to settle that question after the volunteers are mustered out.

Most of the volunteers have no taste for military life; they left peaceful pursuits and enlisted, at a great sacrifice to themselves and their relatives, because their country needed them. Now that the war is over they desire to return home, and their desire should be gratified at the earliest possible moment. They were willing to fight when fighting was necessary; they were ready to lay down their arms as soon as hostilities ceased. If an attempt be made to secure a large increase in the army at home, merely because of a temporary need for an insular army, a prolonged Congressional debate is inevitable. Is it fair to keep the volunteers in the service while this question is being disposed of?

Unless Republican leaders desire to hold the volunteers as hostages to compel Congress to consent to a large army, they ought to be willing to postpone the consideration of the Regular Army bill and accept a substitute authorizing the President to recruit an army of occupation for service outside of the United States. The soldiers can be enlisted for two or three years, and before their term expires the nation's policy will be defined and conditions so settled that provision can be made for the future with more intelligence.

In recruiting the army of occupation opportunity should be given for the re-enlistment of such volunteers as desire to continue in the service. And I may add that it will encourage re-enlistment if a company

or battalion formed from a volunteer regiment is allowed to select its officers from among the members of the regiment.

The pay of enlisted men serving in the army of occupation should be considerably increased over the present rate to compensate for greater risk to health incurred in the islands.

When the time arrives for the deliberate consideration of the permanent military establishment it will be found safer and more economical to provide complete modern equipment for the State militia, together with liberal appropriations for instruction and for annual encampments, than to increase the regular army. Soldiers in the regular service are withdrawn from productive labor and must be supported the year around, while members of the State militia receive military training without abandoning civil pursuits and without becoming a pecuniary burden to either State or nation.

To recapitulate: There is no immediate necessity for the consideration of the proposition to permanently increase the military establishment; there is immediate necessity for the relief of the volunteers.

Let the army of occupation be recruited at once; let the size of the regular army be determined after the volunteers have been released.

The people are united in the desire to muster out the volunteers; they are divided in opinion in regard to the regular army.

Let each question be decided upon its merits.

RATIFY THE TREATY. DECLARE THE NATION'S POLICY.

I gladly avail myself of the columns of the Journal to suggest a few reasons why the opponents of a colonial policy should make their fight in support of a resolution declaring the nation's purpose rather than against the ratification of the treaty.

The conflict between the doctrine of self-government and the doctrine of alien government supported by external force has been thrust upon the American people as a result of the war. It is so important a conflict that it cannot be avoided, and, since it deals with a question now before Congress, it must be considered immediately. It is useless to ask what effect this new issue will have upon other issues. Issues must be met as they arise; they cannot be moved about at will like pawns upon a chess board.

The opponents of imperialism have an opportunity to choose the ground upon which the battle is to be fought. Why not oppose the ratification of the treaty?

First, because a victory won against the treaty would prove only temporary if the people really favor a colonial policy.

That a victory won against the treaty would depend for its value entirely upon the sentiment of the people is evident. A minority can obstruct action for a time, but a minority, so long as it remains a minority, can only delay action and enforce reflection; it cannot commit the nation to a policy.

When there seemed some probability of the rejection of the treaty the friends of the administration began to suggest the propriety of withholding the treaty until the new senate could be convened in extra ses-

sion. As the new senate will have a considerable Republican majority it would be quite certain to ratify the treaty. Thus an effort to prevent the ratification of the treaty would be likely to fail in the very beginning. But let us suppose it possible to defeat ratification in both the present and the next senate—what would be the result? Would the imperialists abandon the hope of annexing the Philippines so long as they could claim the support of the President and a majority of both houses? Could a minority of the Senate prevent the annexation of Hawaii? As we are now in possession of the Philippine Islands the advocates of a colonial policy might secure an appropriation sufficient to pay the twenty millions agreed upon and leave the rest of the treaty for future consideration. In other words, if the opponents of imperialism have a majority in both houses they can declare the nation's policy; if the imperialists have a majority in both houses they cannot be permanently thwarted by a minority in the Senate.

A resolution declaring the nation's policy recognizes that the destiny of the United States is in the hands of all the people and seeks to ascertain at once the sentiment of the people as reflected by their representatives.

If that decision is in harmony with the policy which has prevailed in the past the question will be settled and the people will return to the consideration of domestic problems. If, however, the advocates of imperialism either postpone consideration or control the action of Congress an appeal will be taken to the voters at the next election. So great a change in our national policy cannot be made unless the authority therefor comes directly and unequivocally from that source of all power in a republic—the people.

In answer to those who fear that the question of

imperialism, if discussed, will draw attention away from other questions, it is sufficient to say that the people cannot be prevented from considering a question which reaches down to the foundation principles of the republic. Instead of avoiding the issue it is the part of wisdom to deal with it at once and dispose of it permanently.

Second, the rejection of the treaty would be unwise because the opponents of the treaty would be compelled to assume responsibility for the continuance of war conditions and for the risks which always attend negotiations with a hostile nation.

The rejection of the treaty would give the administration an excuse for military expenditures which could not be justified after the conclusion of peace, and the opponents of the treaty would be charged with making such appropriations necessary. It must be remembered that in case the treaty is rejected negotiations must be renewed with an enemy whose ill-will is not concealed. Who is able to guarantee the nation against new dangers and new complications? In order to form an estimate of the risks which would thus be incurred, one has only to recall the unexpected things which have happened since war was declared. Is it wise to so make the attack as to assume all the risks when the same end can be gained by a plan which throws the risks upon our opponents? If the imperialists vote down a resolution declaring the nation's policy or postpone its consideration, they become responsible for any loss of life or expenditure of money which may follow as a result of such action.

I suggest below a few reasons in support of a resolution declaring it to be the nation's purpose to establish a stable government in Cuba and the Philippines and then to give the inhabitants independence under

an American protectorate which will guard them against molestation from without.

First, such a course is consistent with national honor.

Our nation owes it to the nations with which we have dealings, as well as to the inhabitants of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, to announce immediately what it intends to do respecting the territory surrendered by Spain.

The President has said that the only purpose our nation has in taking possession of Cuba is to assist the inhabitants to establish a stable and independent government. It can do no harm for Congress to reaffirm this purpose, and it may do much good. The Cubans, having fought for independence for many years and against great odds, are naturally jealous of the liberty which they have won and no doubt should be left as to the sincerity and good faith of our government in its dealings with them. Such a declaration would not only be harmless, but it is almost made necessary by the flippant, if not contemptuous, tone in which some United States officials speak of the intelligence and patriotism of the Cubans and of their right to independence.

The duty of declaring our national policy in regard to the Philippines is even more imperative. The Filipinos were fighting for independence when the United States declared war against Spain. In the formal protest filed with the peace commissioners in Paris the representatives of Aguinaldo assert that they received friendly assurances from United States officials and acted upon those assurances in co-operating against the Spaniards. Whether or not such assurances were given, frankness and honesty should characterize our dealings with them.

If we announce to the world that we hold the Phil-

ippine Islands, not for pecuniary profit but in trust for the inhabitants; if we declare that our only purpose is to assist the Filipinos to establish a stable and independent government, friendly relations will be maintained and there will be little need of troops. If, on the other hand, the Filipinos are not to have independence but merely a change of masters we should break the news to them at once and send over a large army to instruct them in the principles of a government which, in one hemisphere, derives its just powers from the consent of the governed and in the other derives its authority from superior force.

While our nation is not prepared to draft a complete code of laws suited to the peculiar needs of the Filipinos we ought to be able to decide at once whether we intend to deal with them according to the principles of our own government or according to the customs prevailing among European monarchies. Even a republican Congress ought to be able to choose without hesitation between a policy which establishes a republic in the Orient and a policy which sows the seeds of militarism in the United States.

The trade relations possible under a protectorate would be of more value to the United States than any which could come as the result of forcible annexation.

The people of Porto Rico have not manifested any desire for political independence and would in all probability favor annexation, yet it is only right that they should have an opportunity to choose. The resolution authorizing intervention recognized the right of the Cubans to independence. To be consistent we must also respect the wishes of the inhabitants of Porto Rico. The resolution could, without impropriety, offer annexation to Porto Rico.

In a recent interview I suggested that the United

States should retain a harbor and coaling station in the Philippines and in Porto Rico in return for services rendered and added that Cuba should be asked to make a similar concession on the same ground.

Second, a resolution declaring the nation's purpose presents a plain and clear-cut issue between the theory of self-government and the colonial policy. It presents a positive affirmative method of dealing with the question. In opposing the treaty we would be on the defensive; in outlining a policy we shall be aggressive. The strongest arguments which could be used in support of the treaty will lose their force entirely when Spain is eliminated and the American people are able to dispose of the question according to their own ideas and interests.

Third, it secures, by easier means, every end that can be secured by a rejection of the treaty.

If an officer of the law arrests a person in possession of stolen goods he can either compel the return of the goods to the owner or he can first rescue them and then return them himself. We find Spain in the possession of a title to a part of the Philippines. She has not yet conquered all the native tribes, but the title which she has was acquired by force and has been held by force. We can either compel her to surrender her title to the Filipinos, as we compelled her to surrender Cuba to the Cubans, or we can accept possession and then of our own accord turn over the islands to the inhabitants. The peace commissioners might have demanded independence for the Filipinos as they did for the Cubans; if they did not properly interpret the wishes of the people of the United States the blame must fall upon them and not upon the people. Certainly seventy millions of citizens are under no obligation to abate their devotion to the ideals which they have cherished for a century in order to

endorse the work of a peace commission or to approve of the instructions of an executive.

If it is urged that the ratification of the treaty imposes upon us an obligation to pay twenty millions of dollars to Spain, I answer, first, that this amount can probably be secured from the Filipinos in return for independence, and second, that, if it cannot be secured from them, it is better to lose the amount entirely than to expend a larger sum in securing a modification of the treaty.

It is better to regard the amount paid as a contribution to liberty than to consider it the market price of land, improvements or people.

To terminate the war upon the same high plane upon which it was inaugurated is worthy of a great republic; to descend from a sublime beginning to the purchase of sovereignty (for our own profit) from a nation whose title we disputed in Cuba would lay us open to the charge of Punic faith.

WILL IT PAY?

On former occasions I have quoted authority against the policy of imperialism and have insisted that the adoption of an European colonial policy would endanger the perpetuity of the republic. While every lover of his country should be willing to surrender a pecuniary advantage, however alluring, if that advantage would in the least jeopardize our national existence, still the opponents of imperialism are fortunate in having upon their side the dollar argument as well as the arguments based upon fundamental principles.

The forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands (and, in my judgment, even annexation by the consent of the people) would prove a source of pecuniary loss rather than gain. Heretofore our acquisitions have been confined to the North American continent, the nation having in view either security from attack or land suitable for settlement. Generally both objects have been realized. Florida and the territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific were necessary for purposes of defense, and, in addition thereto, furnished homes and occupation for an increasing population.

The Hawaiian Islands are nearer to the western than to the eastern hemisphere, and their annexation was urged largely upon the ground that their possession by another nation would be a menace to the United States. When objection was made to the heterogeneous character of the people of the islands, it was met by the assertion that they were few in number. In the opinion of those who favored the annexation of Hawaii the advantages to be gained from a strategical standpoint outweighed the objection raised to the population. No argument made in favor of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands can be used in support of the imperialistic policy. The purchase of Alaska removed one more monarchy from American territory and gave to the United States a maximum of land with a minimum of inhabitants.

In the forcible annexation of the Philippines our nation neither adds to its strength nor secures broader opportunities for the American people.

Even if the principle of conquest were permissible under American public law, the conquest of territory so remote from our shores, inhabited by people who have no sympathy with our history or our customs, and who resent our attempt to overthrow their declar-

ation of independence, would be a tax upon our military and naval strength the magnitude of which cannot now be determined.

Who can estimate in money and men the cost of subduing and keeping in subjection eight millions of people, six thousand miles away, scattered over twelve hundred islands and living under a tropical sun?

How many soldiers did Spain sacrifice in her effort to put down almost continuous insurrection in Cuba? How many perished from wounds and disease in the vain attempt to keep the Pearl of the Antilles under Spanish dominion? Yet Cuba has only about a million and a half of inhabitants, and Havana is only half as far from Cadiz as Manila is from San Francisco.

If this question is to be settled upon the basis of dollars and cents, who will insure the nation that the receipts will equal the expenditures? Who will guarantee that the income from the Philippines, be it great or small, will find its way back to the pockets of the people who, through taxation, will furnish the money?

And even if the amount invested in ships, armament and in the equipment of soldiers is returned dollar for dollar, who will place a price upon the blood that will be shed? If war is to be waged for trade, how much trade ought to be demanded in exchange for a human life? And will the man who expects to secure the trade risk his own life or the life of some one else?

The demand for a standing army of one hundred thousand men is the beginning of a policy which will increase the hours of toil and fill the homes of the land with vacant chairs.

In his essay on The West Indies, Lord Macaulay denies that colonies are a source of profit even to European countries. He says:

"There are some who assert that, in a military and political point of view, the West Indies are of great

importance to this country. This is a common but a monstrous misrepresentation. We venture to say that colonial empire has been one of the greatest curses of modern Europe. What nation has it ever strengthened? What nation has it ever enriched? What have been its fruits? Wars of frequent occurrence and immense cost, fettered trade, lavish expenditure, clashing jurisdiction, corruption in governments and indigence among the people. What have Mexico and Peru done for Spain, the Brazils for Portugal, Batavia for Holland? Or, if the experience of others is lost upon us, shall we not profit by our own? What have we not sacrificed to our infatuated passion for transatlantic dominion? This it is that has so often led us to risk our own smiling gardens and dear firesides for some snowy desert or infectious morass on the other side of the globe; this induced us to resign all the advantages of our insular situation—to embroil ourselves in the intrigues, and fight the battles of half the continent—to form coalitions which were instantly broken—and to give subsidies which were never earned; this gave birth to the fratricidal war against American liberty, with all its disgraceful defeats, and all its barren victories, and all the massacres of the Indian hatchet, and all the bloody contracts of the Hessian slaughter-house; this it was which, in the war against the French republic, induced us to send thousands and tens of thousands of our bravest troops to die in West Indian hospitals, while the armies of our enemies were pouring over the Rhine and the Alps. When a colonial acquisition has been in prospect, we have thought no expenditure extravagant, no interference perilous. Gold has been to us as dust, and blood as water. Shall we never learn wisdom? Shall we never cease to prosecute a pursuit wilder than the wildest dream of alchemy, with

GROUP OF NATIVES, MOLO ISLAND.

NATIVES OF THE PHILIPPINES.

all the credulity and all the profusion of Sir Epicure Mammon?

"Those who maintain that settlements so remote conduce to the military or maritime power of nations fly in the face of history."

Thus wrote England's orator, statesman and historian.

Shall we refuse to profit by the experience of others? Has the victory of seventy millions of people over seventeen millions so infatuated us with our own prowess that gold is to become to us also as dust and blood as water?

Let us consider for a moment the indirect cost of annexation. Grave domestic problems press for solution; can we afford to neglect them in order to engage unnecessarily in controversies abroad?

Must the people at large busy themselves with the contemplation of "destiny" while the special interests hedge themselves about with legal bulwarks and exact an increasing toll from productive industry?

While the American people are endeavoring to extend an unsolicited sovereignty over remote peoples, foreign financiers will be able to complete the conquest of our own country. Labor's protest against the black list and government by injunction and its plea for arbitration, shorter hours and a fair share of the wealth which it creates, will be drowned in noisy disputes over new boundary lines and in the clash of conflicting authority.

Monopoly can thrive in security so long as the inquiry, "Who will haul down the flag," on distant islands turns public attention away from the question, who will uproot the trusts at home?

What will it cost the people to substitute contests over treaties for economic issues? What will it cost the people to postpone consideration of remedial legis-

lation while the ship of state tosses about in the whirlpool of international politics?

In considering the question of imperialism we have a right to weigh possibilities as well as certainties; and among the possibilities may be mentioned an offensive and defensive union between the United States and one or more European nations. Already one may hear an Anglo-American alliance suggested—a suggestion which would have been discarded as a dream a year ago. When this nation abandons its traditions and enters upon a colonial policy, a long step will have been taken toward those entanglements against which Washington and Jefferson with equal emphasis warned their countrymen.

What a change the imperialistic idea has already wrought in the minds of its advocates! During the nation's infancy and development the American people spurned the thought of foreign alliance and its attendant obligations; they refused to yoke the young republic with a monarchy. The wisest among us are not able to measure the cost of a policy which would surrender the nation's independence of action and drag it into the broils of Europe and Asia.

The Monroe Doctrine, too, what will become of it? How can we expect European nations to respect our supremacy in the western hemisphere if we insist upon entering Asia? So long as we confine ourselves to our own continent we are strong enough to repel the world, but are we prepared (or is it worth while to prepare) to wage an offensive warfare in other parts of the globe?

On the other hand, what advantages are suggested by imperialists to offset the cost and dangers mentioned?

They tell us that trade follows the flag and that wider markets will be the result of annexation. With-

out admitting that any argument based upon trade advantages can justify an attempt to adopt a double standard in government—a government by consent in America and a government by force in Asia—it may be answered that commerce is a matter of cost and not a matter of bunting. The protectionist understands this and demands not a flag barrier but a price barrier between the home manufacturer and the foreign competitor.

Public attention has already been called to the fact that, while Spain was sending soldiers to the Philippines England was sending merchandise. While the home government was sending money to the islands Great Britain was drawing money from them.

The cost of transportation is an important factor and has more influence than sovereignty in directing the course of trade.

Canada does not refuse to deal with us merely because she flys the British Jack; in fact, I have been told that she sometimes buys even her British Jacks in the United States. Our foreign trade is increasing, and that increase is not due to an expanding sovereignty.

The insignificance of the trade argument will be manifest to any one who will compare the consuming capacity of the Filipinos with that of a like number of Americans. The inhabitants of the torrid zones can never equal, or even approach, the inhabitants of the temperate zones as customers. England's commerce with the United States is greater than her commerce with India, and yet India has a population of nearly three hundred millions and the English flag floats over them.

It is yet to be decided whether the open door policy will be adopted in the Orient or a tariff wall built around our subjects there, but neither plan will be

found satisfactory. Our people, however, should not expect a colonial policy to prove acceptable, either to the governed or to the governing. If we attempt to run our country upon the European plan we must prepare ourselves for continual complaint. History has thus far failed to furnish a single example of a nation selfish enough to desire a colony and yet unselfish enough to govern it wisely at long range.

It has been argued that annexation would furnish a new field for the investment of American capital. If there is surplus money seeking investment why is it not employed in the purchase of farm lands, in developing domestic enterprises or in replacing foreign capital? In 1896 we were told that we were dependent upon foreign capital and must so legislate as to keep what we had and invite more. Strange that it should be necessary to have an English financial system in order to bring European capital into the States and also an English colonial policy for the purpose of taking American capital out. Every dollar sent to the Philippines must be withdrawn from present investments, and we must either suffer to the extent of the amount withdrawn or borrow abroad and increase our bondage to foreign money lenders.

It is sometimes suggested that the Philippines would furnish homes for those who are crowded out of this country. This argument, too, is without foundation. The population of the United States amounts to only twenty-one persons to the square mile, while the Philippine Islands already contain about sixty to the square mile. It will be several generations before the population of the United States will be as dense as it is now in the Philippines.

Our people will not flock to Manila; climatic conditions will be as great an obstacle as over-population. English supremacy in India has continued for nearly

a hundred and fifty years, and yet in 1891 the British-born population of India was only 100,551—less than the total number of prisoners confined in the jails of India at the end of 1895.

Jamaica has had all the advantages which could be derived from an English colonial policy and yet the white population in 1891 numbered less than fifteen thousand out of a total of 639,000.

Java has been under the dominion of the Netherlands for nearly three hundred years, and yet in 1894 the Europeans upon the island numbered less than 60,000 out of a total population of more than 25,000,000.

Spain has been able to induce but a small number of her people to settle in the Philippines and, if we can judge from the reports sent back by our volunteers, we shall not succeed any better.

But while the Philippines will not prove inviting to Americans, we shall probably draw a considerable number from the islands to the United States. The emigration will be eastward rather than westward. During the six years from 1889 to 1894 more than ninety thousand coolies left India, and we may expect an influx of Malays.

It is not strange that the laboring men should look with undisguised alarm upon the prospect of oriental competition upon the farms and in the factories of the United States. Our people have legislated against Chinese emigration, but to exclude a few Chinese and admit many Filipinos is like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

The farmers and laboring men constitute a large majority of the American people; what is there in annexation for them? Heavier taxes, Asiatic emigra-

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tion and an opportunity to furnish more sons for the army.

Will it pay?

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

In the discussion of a colonial policy for the United States frequent references will be made to England's government of India. The imperialists are already declaring that Great Britain's policy has resulted in profit to herself and benefit to her Asiatic subjects.

The opponents of imperialism, on the other hand, find in India's experience a warning against a policy which places one nation under the control of another and distant nation.

In 1600 the first East India company was organized. Its charter was for fifteen years, but a new and perpetual charter was granted in 1609. Under the reign of Charles II. the company obtained another charter which continued former privileges and added authority "to make peace or war with any prince or people (in India) not being Christian."

The affairs of the company were managed with an eye single to gain, and intervention in the quarrels of native princes resulted in the gradual extension of its influence. Money was the object, and the means employed would not always bear scrutiny. There was, however, no hypocritical mingling of an imaginary "philanthropy" with an actual "five per cent."

In 1757 Lord Clive, by the battle of Plassey, made the company the dominant power in Indian politics, and under Clive and Hastings the income of the East India Company reached enormous proportions.

The history of the century, beginning with the bat-

tle of Plassey and ending with the Sepoy mutiny in 1857, was written under headlines like the following: "The First War with Hyder Ali," "The Rohilla War," "The Second War with Hyder Ali," "The War with Tippoo Saib," "The War with the Mahrattas," "Suppression of the Pindaris," "The Last of the Peshwas," "The First Burmese War," "The First Afghan War," "The Conquest of Scinde," "The Sekh Wars," "The Conquest of Punjab," "The Annexation of Pegu," "The Annexation of Oudh," "The Outbreak of Meerut," "The Seizure of Delhi," "The Siege of Lucknow," etc., etc.

This brief review is not given because it is interesting, but to acquaint the reader with the imperialistic plan of solving the problem of civilization by the elimination of unruly factors.

In 1858 Parliament, by an act entitled an act "for the better government of India," confessed that the management of Indian affairs could be improved and placed the control in the hands of a Secretary of State for India and a Council.

In 1877 Queen Victoria assumed the title, Empress of India.

Even if it could be shown that England's sovereignty over India had brought blessings to the Indian people and advantage to the inhabitants of Great Britain, we could not afford to adopt the policy. A monarchy can engage in work which a republic dare not undertake. A monarchy is constructed upon the theory that authority descends from the king and that privileges are granted by the crown to the subjects. Of course the ruling power recognizes that it owes a duty to the people, but while the obligation is binding upon the conscience of the sovereign it cannot be enforced by the subject.

Webster presented this idea with great force in his

speech on the Greek revolution. After setting forth the agreement between the Allied Powers, he said: "The first of these principles is, that all popular or constitutional rights are holden no otherwise than as grants from the crown. Society, upon this principle, has no rights of its own; it takes good government, when it gets it, as a boon and a concession, but can demand nothing. It is to live in that favor which emanates from royal authority, and if it have the misfortune to lose that favor, there is nothing to protect it against any degree of injustice and oppression. It can rightfully make no endeavor for a change, by itself; its whole privilege is to receive the favors that may be dispensed by the sovereign power, and all its duty is described in the single word, submission. This is the plain result of the principal continental state papers; indeed, it is nearly the identical text of some of them."

The English people have from time to time forced the crown to recognize certain rights, but the principle of monarchy still exists. The sovereign has a veto upon all legislation; the fact that this veto has not been used of late does not change the governmental theory and, in India, the application of the theory has deprived the Indian people of participation in the control of their own affairs.

A nation which denies the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed can give self-government to one colony and deny it to another; it can give it to colonies strong enough to exact it by force and deny it to weaker ones; but a nation which recognizes the people as the only sovereigns, and regards those temporarily in authority merely as public servants, is not at liberty to apply the principle to one section of the country and refuse it to another.

But, so far from supporting the contention of the imperialists, British rule in India really enforces every argument that can be made against a colonial system of government. In the first place, to authorize a commercial company "to make peace or war with any prince or people (not Christian)," according to its pleasure, was to place the pecuniary interests of a few stockholders above the rights of those with whom they had dealings. Clive and Hastings seem to have acted upon this authority. When the former was called to account he confessed that he had forged a treaty and his conduct was such that Parliament was compelled to vote that he "had abused his powers and set an evil example to the servants of the public," but, as he had increased the power of England in India, his condemnation was accompanied by the declaration that he had, "at the same time, rendered great and meritorious services to his country."

The prosecution of Hastings for wrongs inflicted upon the people of India occupies a conspicuous place among the political trials of history. The speeches made against him recall the orations of Cicero against Verres, who, by the way, was also charged with plundering a colony.

Cicero said that Verres relied for his hope of escape upon his ability to corrupt the judges of his day, and it appears that the East India Company was also accused of polluting the stream of justice only a century ago.

In his speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, Burke said: "Let no man hereafter talk of the decaying energies of nature. All the acts and monuments in the records of peculation; the consolidated corruption of ages; the pattern of exemplary plunder in the heroic times of Roman iniquity, never equalled the gigantic corruption of this single act. Never did Nero, in all

the insolent prodigality of despotism, deal out to his prætorian guards a donation fit to be named with the largess showered down by the bounty of our chancellor of the exchequer on the faithful band of his Indian sepoys."

How little human nature changes from age to age! How weak is the boasted strength of the arm of the law when the defendant possesses the influence purchased by great wealth, however obtained, and the accusation comes from a far-off victim of oppression!

Those who expect justice to be exercised by officials far removed from the source of power—officials who do not receive their commissions from, and cannot be removed by, the people whom they govern—should read Sheridan's great speech portraying the effect of the Hastings policy upon the people of India.

Below will be found an extract:

"If, my lords, a stranger had at this time entered the province of Oude, ignorant of what had happened since the death of Sujah Dowlah, that prince who, with a savage heart, had still great lines of character, and who, with all his ferocity in war, had with a cultivating hand preserved to his country the wealth which it derived from benignant skies, and a prolific soil; if observing the wide and general devastation of fields unclothed and brown; of vegetation burnt up and extinguished; of villages depopulated and in ruin; of temples unroofed and perishing; of reservoirs broken down and dry, this stranger would ask, What has thus laid waste this beautiful and opulent land; what monstrous madness has ravaged with widespread war; what desolating foreign foe; what civil discords; what disputed succession; what religious zeal; what fabled monster has stalked abroad and, with malice and mortal enmity to man, withered by the grasp of death

every growth of nature and humanity, all means of delight, and each original, simple principle of bare existence? The answer would have been: Not one of these causes! No wars have ravaged these lands and depopulated these villages! No desolating foreign foe! no domestic broils! no disputed succession! no religious superserviceable zeal! no poisonous monster! no affliction of Providence, which, while it scourges us, cut off the sources of resuscitation!

"No. This damp of death is the mere effusion of British amity! We sink under the pressure of their support! We writhe under their perfidious gripe! They have embraced us with their protecting arms, and lo! these are the fruits of their alliance!"

No clearer case was ever made against a prisoner at the bar, and yet after a seven years' trial before the House of Lords Hastings was acquitted, not because he was guiltless, but because England had acquired territory by his policy.

Lord Macaulay, in describing the crimes perpetrated at that time against a helpless people, gives expression to a truth which has lost none of its force with the lapse of years. He says: "And then was seen what we believe to be the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilization without its mercy. To all other despotism there is a check, imperfect indeed, and liable to gross abuse, but still sufficient to preserve society from the last extreme of misery. A time comes when the evils of submission are obviously greater than those of resistance, when fear itself begets a sort of courage, when a convulsive burst of popular rage and despair warns tyrants not to presume too far on the patience of mankind. But against misgovernment such as then afflicted Bengal, it is impossible to struggle. The superior intelligence and energy of the dominant class made their power irresistible. A war

of Bengalees against Englishmen was like a war of sheep against wolves, of men against demons."

"The strength of civilization without its mercy!"

The American people are capable of governing themselves, but what reason have we to believe that they can wisely administer the affairs of distant races? It is difficult enough to curb corporate power in this country, where the people who suffer have in their own hands the means of redress; how much more difficult it would be to protect the interests of the people where the people who do the governing do not feel the suffering and where the people who do the suffering must rely upon the mercy of alien rulers!

True, Macaulay argues that English morality, tardily but finally, followed English authority into the Orient, but, as a matter of fact, the bleeding of India has continued systematically during the present century. Polite and refined methods have been substituted for the rude and harsh ones formerly employed, and the money received is distributed among a larger number, but the total sum annually drawn from India is greater now than it was when England's foremost orators and statesmen were demanding the impeachment of notorious malefactors.

Sir J. Strachey, an Englishman, in a history recently published, is quoted as saying that "the confiscation of the rights of the ryots (in Bengal) has reached vast proportions." He then shows that through the action of the English government the Zemindars, or middle men, have been able to enormously increase their income at the expense of the tillers of the soil, the increase being from four hundred thousand pounds in the last century to thirteen million pounds at the present time.

On the 28th of December, 1897—only a year ago—

a meeting of the London Indian Society was held at Montague Mansions and strong resolutions adopted. Below will be found an extract from the resolutions:

"That this conference of Indians, resident in the United Kingdom, is of opinion—

"That of all the evils and 'terrible misery' that India has been suffering for a century and a half, and of which the latest developments are the most deplorable, famine and plague, arising from ever-increasing poverty, the stupid and suicidal Frontier War and its savagery, of the wholesale destruction of villages, unworthy of any people, but far more so of English civilization; the unwise and suicidal prosecutions for sedition; the absurd and ignorant cry of the disloyalty of the educated Indians, and for the curtailment of the liberty of the Indian press; the despotism—like that of the imprisonment of the Natus, and the general insufficiency and inefficiency of the administration—of all these and many other minor evils the main cause is the unrighteous and un-British system of government which produces an unceasing and ever-increasing bleeding of the country, and which is maintained by a political hypocrisy and continuous subterfuges unworthy of the British honor and name, and entirely in opposition to the wishes of the British people, and utterly in violation of acts and resolutions of Parliament, and of the most solemn and repeated pledges of the British nation and sovereign.

"That unless the present unrighteous and un-British system of government is thoroughly reformed into a righteous and truly British system destruction to India and disaster to the British Empire must be the inevitable result."

Mr. Naoroji, an Indian residing in England, in supporting the resolution, pointed out the continuous drain of money from India and argued that the people

were compelled "to make brick, not only without straw, but even without clay." He insisted that England's trade with India would be greater if she would allow the people of India a larger participation in the affairs of their own government and protested against the policy of sending Englishmen to India to hold the offices and draw their support from taxes levied upon the inhabitants. He complained that British justice is one thing in England and quite another thing in India, and said: "There (in India) it is only the business of the people to pay taxes and to slave; and the business of the government to spend those taxes to their own benefit. Whenever any question arises between Great Britain and India there is a demoralized mind. The principles of politics, of commerce, of equality which are applied to Great Britain are not applied to India. As if it were not inhabited by human beings!"

Does any one doubt that, if we annex the Philippines and govern them by agents sent from here, questions between them and the people of the United States will be settled by the people of the United States and for the benefit of the people of the United States? If we make subjects of them against their will and for our own benefit are we likely to govern them with any more benevolence?

The resolutions quoted mention efforts for the curtailment of the liberty of the press. Is that not a necessary result of governmental injustice? Are we likely to allow the Filipinos freedom of the press, if we enter upon a system that is indefensible according to our theory of government?

Mr. Hyndman, an English writer, in a pamphlet issued in 1897, calls attention to English indifference to India's wrongs, and, as an illustration of this indifference, cites the fact that during the preceding year the

India budget affecting the welfare of nearly three hundred millions of people was brought before Parliament on the last day of the session when only a few members were present. He asserts that "matters are far worse now than they were in the days of the old East India Company," and that "nothing short of a great famine, a terrible pestilence, or a revolt on a large scale, will induce the mass of Englishmen to devote any attention whatever to the affairs of India."

To show how, in the government of India, the interests of English office-holders outweigh the interests of the natives, I give an extract from the pamphlet already referred to:

"First, under the East India Company, and then, and far more completely, under the direct rule of the Crown of the English people, the natives have been shut out from all the principal positions of trust over five-sixths of Hindostan, and have been prevented from gaining any experience in the higher administration, or in military affairs.

"Wherever it was possible to put in an Englishman to oust a native an Englishman has been put in, and has been paid from four times to twenty times as much for his services as would have sufficed for the salary of an equally capable Hindoo or Mohammedan official. * * * At the present time, out of 39,000 officials who draw a salary of more than 1,000 rupees a year, 28,000 are Englishmen and only 11,000 natives. Moreover, the 11,000 natives receive as salaries only three million pounds a year; the 28,000 Englishmen receive fifteen million pounds a year. Out of the 960 important civil offices which really control the civil administration of India 900 are filled with Englishmen and only sixty with natives. Still worse, if possible, the natives of India have no control whatsoever in any shape or way over their own taxation,

or any voice at all in the expenditure of their own revenues. Their entire government—I speak, of course, of the 250,000,000 under our direct control—is carried on and administered by foreigners, who not only do not settle in the country but who live lives quite remote from those of the people, and return home at about forty-five or fifty years of age with large pensions.

"As I have often said in public, India is, in fact, now governed by successive relays of English carpet-baggers, who have as little sympathy with the natives as they have any real knowledge of their habits and customs."

The Statesman's Year Book of 1897, published by Macmillan & Co., London, contains some interesting statistics in regard to India.

It seems that there are but two and a quarter millions of Christians in India—less than one per cent—after so many years of English control.

It appears, also, that in 1891 only a little more than three millions out of three hundred millions were under instruction; a little more than twelve millions were not under instruction, but able to read and write, while two hundred and forty-six millions were neither under instruction nor able to read or write. Twenty-five millions appear under the head "not returned."

The European army in India amounts to seventy-four thousand and the native army to one hundred and forty-five thousand. In the army the European officers number five thousand and the native officers twenty-seven hundred. One-fourth of the national expenditure in India goes to the support of the army. Nearly one-third of India's annual revenue is expended in Great Britain. The salary of the Governor General is 250,000 rupees per annum.

PHILIPPINE SOLDIERS JUST BEFORE LEAVING THE CITY OF MANILA TO GO BEYOND THE

The Year Book above mentioned is also responsible for the statement that the act of 1893, closing the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, was enacted by the Governor General and Council upon the same day that it was introduced. Mr. Leech, former director of the United States mint, in an article in the Forum, declared that the closing of the mints of India on that occasion was the most momentous event in the monetary history of the present century. It will be remembered that this act was made the excuse for an extra session of our Congress and for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law.

One can obtain some idea of the evils of irresponsible alien government when he reflects that an English Governor General and an English Council changed the financial system of nearly three hundred millions of people by an act introduced and passed in the course of a single day.

No matter what views one may hold upon the money question, he cannot defend such a system of government without abandoning every principle revered by the founders of the republic. Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, one of the President's commissioners, upon his return from Europe, made a speech in the Senate in which he declared that the last Indian famine was a money famine rather than a food famine. In that speech Mr. Wolcott also asserted that the closing of the India mints reduced, by five hundred millions of dollars, the value of the silver accumulated in the hands of the people. If Mr. Wolcott's statement contains the smallest fraction of truth the injury done by the East India Company during its entire existence was less than the injury done by that one act of the Governor and his Council. If the famine was, in fact, a money famine, created by an act of the Governor and his Council, then indeed is English rule as cruel

and merciless in India to-day as was the rule of the East India Company's agents a century ago.

English rule in India is not bad because it is English, but because no race has yet appeared sufficiently strong in character to resist the temptations which come with irresponsible power.

We may well turn from the contemplation of an imperial policy and its necessary vices to the words of Jefferson in his first inaugural message: "Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question."

WHAT NEXT?

Imperialists seek to create the impression that the ratification of the treaty has terminated the controversy in regard to the future of the Philippines, but there is no ground whatever for such a conclusion. The President has not as yet outlined a policy and Congress has so far failed to make any declaration upon the subject. Several administration senators have expressely denied that ratification commits the United States to the permanent annexation of the Philippine Islands.

The treaty extinguishes Spanish sovereignty, but it does not determine our nation's course in dealing with the Filipinos. In the opinion of many (and I am among the number) the ratification of the treaty, instead of closing the door to independence, really makes easier the establishment of such a government in the Philippine Islands. The matter is now entirely within

the control of Congress, and there is no legal obstacle to prevent the immediate passage of a resolution promising self-government to the Filipinos and pledging the United States to protect their government from outside interference. If we have a right to acquire land we have a right to part with it; if we have a right to secure, by purchase or conquest, a disputed title from Spain, we certainly have a right to give a quit-claim deed to the party in possession.

If the power to part with the islands is admitted, the only question remaining for discussion is whether the United States should permanently hold the Asiatic territory acquired from Spain. For two months the sentiment against imperialism has been constantly growing and there is nothing in the ratification of the treaty to make such a policy more desirable.

Until Dewey's victory no one thought us under obligation to extend our sovereignty over the Filipinos. If subsequent events have imposed such an obligation upon the United States it is worth while to inquire as to its nature and extent. Is it political in its character? Must we make subjects of the Filipinos now because we made allies of them in the war with Spain? France did not recognize any such obligation when she helped us to throw off British supremacy. Are we compelled to civilize the Filipinos by force because we interfered with Spain's efforts to accomplish the same end by the same means? Are we in duty bound to conquer and to govern, when we can find a pretext for doing so, every nation which is weaker than ours or whose civilization is below our standard? Does history justify us in believing that we can improve the condition of the Filipinos and advance them in civilization by governing them without their consent and taxing them without representation? England has tried that plan in India for a hundred and fifty years,

and yet Japan has made more progress in the last thirty years than India has made in the hundred and fifty. And it may be added that the idea of self-government has developed more rapidly among the Japanese during the same period than it has among the people of India.

Government is an evolution and its administration is always susceptible of improvement. The capacity for self-government is developed by responsibility. As exercise strengthens the muscles of the athlete and as education improves the mental faculties of the student, even so participation in government instructs the citizen in the science of government and perfects him in the art of administering it.

We must not expect the Filipinos to establish and maintain as good a government as ours, and it is vain for us to expect that we would maintain there, at long range, as good a government as we have here. The government is, as it were, a composite photograph of the people, a reflection of their average virtue and intelligence.

Some defend annexation upon the ground that the business interests of the islands demand it. The business interests will probably be able to take care of themselves under an independent form of government, unless they are very different from the business interests of the United States. The so-called business men constitute a very small fraction of the total population of the islands, who will say that their pecuniary interests are superior in importance to the right of all the rest of the people to enjoy a government of their own choosing.

Some say that our duty to the foreign residents in the Philippines requires us to annex the islands. If we admit this argument we not only exalt the interests of foreigners above the interests of natives, but place

a higher estimate upon the wishes of foreigners residing in Manila than upon the welfare of our own people.

The fact that the subject of imperialism is being discussed through the newspapers and magazines, as well as in Congress, is evidence that the work of education is still going on. The advocates of a colonial policy must convince the conservative element of the country, by clear and satisfactory proof, they cannot rely upon catch words. The "Who will haul down the flag?" argument has already been discarded, "Destiny" is not as "manifest" as it was a few weeks ago, and the argument of "duty" is being analyzed. The people are face to face with a grave public problem. They have not acted upon it yet, and they will not be frightened away from the calm consideration of it by the repetition of unsupported prophesies. The battle of Manila, which brought loss to us and disaster to the Filipinos, has not rendered "forcible annexation" less repugnant to our nation's "code of morality." If it has any effect at all it ought to emphasize the dangers attendant upon (if I may be permitted to quote from the President again) "criminal aggression." The Filipinos were guilty of inexcusable ignorance if they thought that they could prevent the ratification of the treaty by an attack upon the American lines, but no act of theirs can determine the permanent policy of the United States. Whether imperialism is desirable is too large a question to be settled by a battle. Battles are to be expected under such a policy. England had been the dominant power in India for a century, when the Sepoy mutiny took place, and she rules even now by fear rather than by love.

Force and reason rest upon different foundations and employ different forms of logic. Reason, recognizing that only that is enduring which is just, asks

whether the thing proposed ought to be done; force says, I desire, I can, I will. When the desire proves to be greater than the ability to accomplish, the force argument reads (in the past tense) I desired, I tried, I failed. But even force, if accompanied by intelligence, calculates the cost. No one doubts that the United States army and navy are able to whip into subjection all the Filipinos who are not exterminated in the process, but is it worth the cost?

Militarism is only one item of the cost, but it alone will far outweigh all the advantages which are expected to flow from a colonial policy. John Morley, the English statesman, in a recent speech to his constituents, uttered a warning which may well be considered by our people. He said:

"Imperialism brings with it militarism, and must bring with it militarism. Militarism means a gigantic expenditure, daily growing. It means an increase in government of the power of aristocratic and privileged classes. Militarism means the profusion of the taxpayer's money everywhere except in the taxpayer's own home, and militarism must mean war.

"And you must be much less well read in history than I take the liberals of Scotland to be if you do not know that it is not war, that hateful demon of war, but white-winged peace that has been the nurse and guardian of freedom and justice and well-being over that great army of toilers upon whose labor, upon whose privations, upon whose hardships, after all, the greatness and the strength of empires and of states are founded and are built up."

Militarism is so necessary a companion of imperialism that the President asks for a two hundred per cent increase in the standing army, even before the people at large have passed upon the question of annexation.

Morley says that imperialism gives to the aristoc-

racy and to the privileged classes an increased influence in government; do we need to increase their influence in our government? Surely they are potent enough already.

He calls attention to the fact that the toiler finds his hope in peaceful progress rather than in war's uncertainties. Is it strange that the laboring classes are protesting against both imperialism and militarism? Is it possible that their protest will be in vain?

Imperialism has been described as "The White Man's Burden," but, since it crushes the wealth-producer beneath an increasing weight of taxes, it might with more propriety be called The Poor Man's Load.

If the Peace Commissioners had demanded a harbor and coaling station in the Philippines and had required Spain to surrender the rest of the land to the Filipinos, as she surrendered Cuba to the Cubans, we would not now be considering how to let go of the islands. If the sum of twenty millions had been necessary to secure Spain's release, the payment of the amount by the Filipinos might have been guaranteed by the United States.

But the failure of the Peace Commissioners to secure for the Filipinos the same rights that were obtained for the Cubans, could have been easily remedied by a resolution declaring the nation's purpose to establish a stable and independent government.

It is still possible for the Senate alone, or for the Senate and House together, to adopt such a resolution.

The purpose of annexationists, so far as that purpose can be discovered, is to apply to the government of the Filipinos methods familiar to the people of Europe and Asia, but new in the United States.

This departure from traditions was not authorized by the people; whether it will be ratified by them

remains to be seen. The responsibility rests first upon Congress and afterwards upon that power which makes Congresses.

Whatever may be the wish of individuals or the interests of parties, we may rest assured that the final disposition of the Philippine question will conform to the deliberate judgment of the voters; they constitute the court of last resort; from their decision there is no appeal.

What next? Investigation, discussion, action.

CHAPTER III.

THE CREED OF THE FLAG.

By DR. HOWARD S. TAYLOR, CHICAGO.

"Who will haul down the flag?" quoth he,
And no man an answer gave.
But who will haul up the flag, ask we,
Where the flag ought never wave?
Over an arrogant mission of spoil
That takes, as a matter of course,
A subject race and a conquered soil
And a government based on force!
Answer us!—answer us! true and fair,
Who will haul up Old Glory there?

"Who will haul down the flag?" quoth he.
Nay, think how it first went up
When War astride of the land and sea
Poured wrath from his brimming cup;
When brave men died and left in bequest
One pledge for the great and the small;
Not stars for a few and stripes for the rest,
But the flag of our country for all!
Answer us, truly and plainly, we pray:
Was that not its meaning in Washington's day?

From Washington's day to Jackson's time,
From Yorktown to New Orleans,
Did any man follow that flag sublime
And doubt what the symbol means?
Free self-ruled states, each one as a star
Fixed fast in a field of blue
Fenced in by the blood-red stripes of war
To preserve them for me and you!
Answer us, now, do you dare to drag
The old faith out of our father's flag?

"Who will haul down the flag?" quoth he.
Why, no hand of flesh and bone
Can lower that flag, on land or sea,
Till the faith of the flag is gone!
Till a few shall rule and cunningly keep
The bunting to garnish their greed;
Till dollars are dear and humanity cheap
By the force of a tory creed!
Then will it fall!—but answer us, clear,
Do you fancy that hour is drawing near?

Did our Liberty Bell ring in vain?
Was our Declaration a lie?
Must we turn to the old world again,
With the penitent prodigal's cry?
Must we arm us and march in the van
Of Europe's barbaric parade
And boom out a gunpowder gospel to man
To open a pathway for trade?
Shall we strut through the world and bluster and brag
With the dollar-mark stamped on the brave old flag?

Nay, haul up the flag—raise it high—
Not yet is its spirit spent!
Let it sing in the wind and the sky
The truth that it always meant!
Let it sing of the birthright of man,
Of progress that never can lag,
Let it sing that trade may go where it can
But liberty follows the flag!
Yea, haul up Old Glory—but, comrades, take heed
That no man shall part the old flag from the creed!

THE POOR MAN'S BURDEN.

By DR. HOWARD S. TAYLOR.

Pile up the poor man's burden—
The weight of foreign wars;
Go shrewdly yoke together
Great Mercury and Mars,
And march with them to conquest,
As once did ancient Rome,
With vigor on her borders
And slow decay at home!

Pile up the poor man's burden,
Accept Great Britain's plan;
She does all things for commerce—
Scarce anything for man.
Far off among the pagans
She seeks an open door
While Pity cries in London,
"God help the British poor!"

Pile up the poor man's burden—
His sons will hear our call,
Will feed the jungle fever
And stop the Mauser ball;
Will fall far off unnoted,
For spoils they may not share,
And spill their blood to water
A laurel here and there!

Pile up the poor man's burden;
Keep in the old, old track!
Let glory ride, as ever,
Upon the toiler's back.
Lay tax and tax upon him,
Devised with subtle skill—
Call forth his sons to slaughter
And let him pay the bill!

Pile up the poor man's burden!
The lords of trade, at least,
May drink, like King Belshazzar,
In comfort at the feast;
May boast, as did the monarch
Within his palace hall,
While God wrote out his sentence
In fire upon the wall!

CHAPTER IV.

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES EXPAND?

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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Secretary Gage has not only told us that he is a convert to imperialism, but he has fortunately given us the reason. All that is necessary is that our public men should give reasons for the Republic's abandoning the policy which has made her great. He accepts the dangers and cost of imperialism, against his own wishes, for the sake of commercial expansion.

Now, Secretary Gage has never manufactured anything, nor exported anything—he is neither in manufacturing nor in commerce. I am in both. Our concern is to-day the largest in its line in the world, and I believe it is also the largest exporter of manufactures in the United States. We have, within two years, begun to send our steel to all parts of the world. Our sales reach into the millions of dollars. We have our house in London now, as we have in New York. The foreign business is growing by leaps and bounds. Now, one of the reasons why I oppose imperialism—the acquisition of the Philippines—is commercial expansion.

The reason that Secretary Gage gives for acquiring the Philippines is the reason why I would not. He believes that it would be favorable to commercial expansion; I know that it would be detrimental. The Secretary gives no reason for thinking that the acquisition of distant possessions would increase our foreign trade.

Permit me to state reasons why it would not increase, but decrease it. Foreign trade rests upon peace and security; the waters must be calm, disturbing influences absent, to foster trade in foreign parts. Should we undertake to hold the Philippines, we immediately place the whole Republic within the zone of wars and rumors of wars; and the rumor of war, it must be remembered, is in itself absolutely destructive to commerce. France, Germany and Russia, as is well known, are opposed to America's holding any possessions in the far East.

Those nations drove Japan out of Corea; they will drive the United States out of the Philippines, always provided Britain agrees to do what she did with Japan —occupy a neutral position. But I go further than this. England will require the United States to agree to keep the "open door," as she required it of Germany. Of course, Germany agreed to keep the "open door" in her Eastern possessions. She wouldn't have any possessions if she had not so agreed. And it will be precisely the same with the United States; for let it be carefully noted that seventy per cent of the total trade of the Philippines is to-day British.

Suppose that President McKinley, in order to hold the Philippines at all, has to grant the "open door," where will Secretary Gage and his commercial expansion stand then? What will labor in the United States say to the recreant President? What compensation is it to have? What justification can be pleaded for paying twenty or forty millions for the Philippines, and for sacrificing the blood of our soldiers and the lives of our civil servants which were involved in this acquisition, if no advantage accrues? What answer will he make to the people upon whom he imposes additional taxation?

I think I know what the laboring masses of the United States will say to him, and to any Government that throws upon the country such sacrifices of life, and such burdens, only to open its costly acquisitions to the nations of the world. If it be fair competition with other nations that we require for commercial expansion, we are certain of that already, because Britain will never permit the "open door" in the far East to be closed.

Let the President take either horn of the dilemma, and his policy of what he himself has called "criminal aggression" fails. Let him open the door to the world, and he antagonizes American labor. Let him consider the Philippines part of the United States, and therefore entitled, under the Constitution, to free trade with, as part of, the United States, and the door at once is closed, except through the high tariff, to all other nations; and he antagonizes the whole of Europe, and has war upon his hands to a certainty—this time no weak Spain to deal with, but the overwhelming naval power of Europe.

We are correctly told by the Secretary of State that the "open door" does not mean free trade; that the Philippines will have their tariff; and that all products entering the ports will be required to pay the same duties, whether these be products of American soil or labor, or of the low-priced labor of Europe, India, Australia or the Argentine; but the Secretary of State is also reported to have said that this places all nations upon an equality. Here he has made a pardonable mistake, since he has had no experience of commerce.

The manufacturer of Germany, France or Britain, the farmer of Australia and of the Baltic provinces, of Russia and of the Argentine, reach the Philippines

at about one-half the freight-cost that the American farmer has to pay upon his products, or the American manufacturer upon manufactured articles. The distance to Manila from the Atlantic seaboard is, say, 14,000 miles (via Cape); from Europe only say, 9,000; 12,000 from New York (via Europe, which is the shortest way); from Australia only about one-half the distance of that from San Francisco—say 3,500 miles, against 7,000; from India only 4,000, and from Argentine not much farther than from San Francisco.

Therefore, when President McKinley agreed that the products of Europe and the agricultural products of Australia and Argentine and India should reach the Philippines, and pay only the same tariff as products of the soil and the mines of his own country, he closed the door upon American commercial expansion in the Philippines.

It is interesting to consider whether the President, or the Secretary of State, or any member of his cabinet knew that landing American products, either of the farm or of the mine, in Manila, upon equal terms with the agricultural products of Australia, India, Argentine, or of the manufacturers of Europe, simply meant that American grain, flour, provisions, American cotton and woolen goods, American iron and steel, were at so serious a disadvantage, owing to the greater distance, that they were practically excluded from the new possessions for which the American people are to pay. My answer is, that I do not believe that one of them ever thought of this fatal fact of distance.

America stands in regard to the trade of the Philippines exactly as she stood when they were under the dominion of Spain, except that trade with Spain was

favored. She was then on an equality with other foreign nations, but what has the Republic now to shoulder, by this hasty act of the President, which she had not before?

First—She pays $20,000,000 for the privilege of getting what she would better have paid a thousand millions to be without.

Second—The President is to ask Congress for an addition to the army, one and one-half times bigger than the entire army that was necessary before he left the path of the fathers, and plunged the Ship of State into this sea of troubles.

Third—The President is to ask Congress for a tremendous addition to our navy, which will cost the United States more than $20,000,000 every year. The increased army will cost the country probably as much.

The President will get his ships of war, but he will not get his regular soldiers. The work which he wishes them to do is not that which the regular soldier of the United States has hitherto agreed to do. The regular soldier will have to leave his country to oppress the aspiration of people who are striving for independence.

Perhaps the President of the United States will order the American soldier to shoot down men whose only crime is that they fight for the independence of their country, which the American has been brought up to believe and to prize worthy of all sacrifice. Recruits cannot be had for the regular army even to-day. The pay of the army must be raised. It is safe to say that the additional burdens which the President must finally place upon the American people will not amount to less than $100,000,000 per annum, and all of this will be required because the country will have

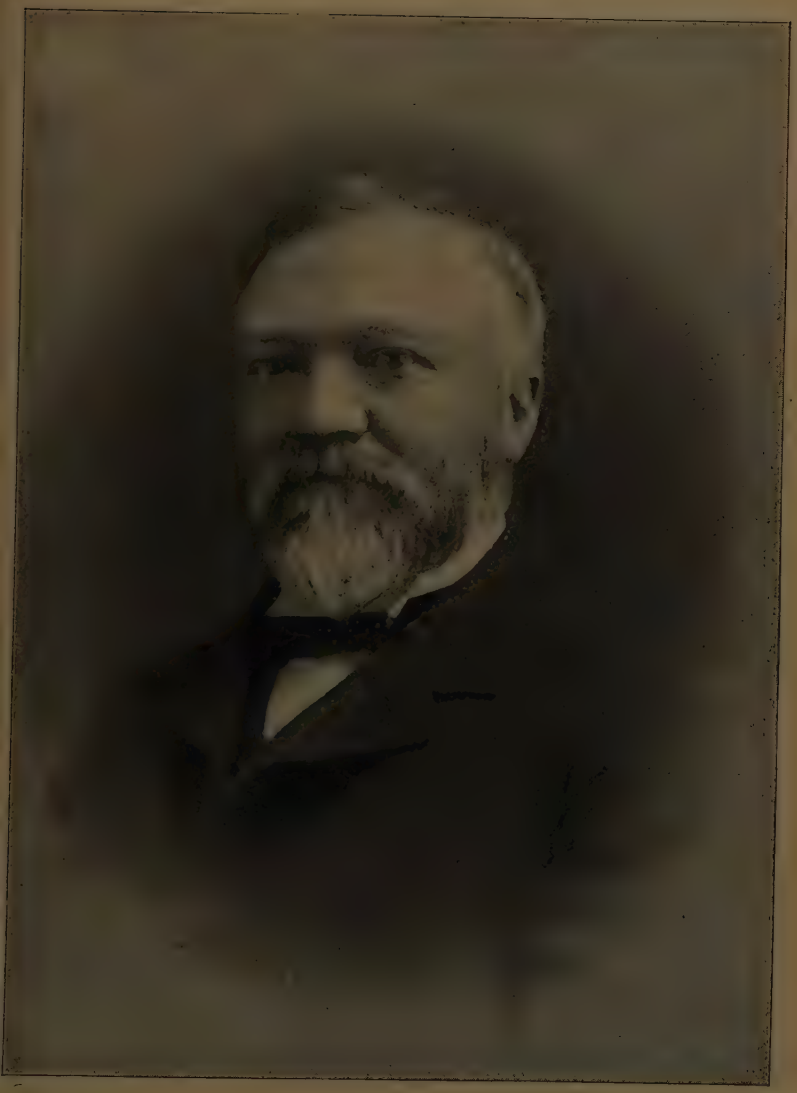
to maintain an army and navy equal to those of European powers, in order to defend worthless foreign possessions from which no benefit can now be reaped, American products having been effectually excluded from them.

I have shown that, so far as the Philippines are concerned, the President has placed the United States at a fatal disadvantage compared with our foreign rivals. Can American products of the farm, or the mine, reach the Philippines at anything approaching the cost of transportation of the agricultural products of Australia, Argentine or Russia, or the manufactures of Great Britain, Germany or France, having thousands of miles farther to go to reach the islands?

If yes, then the American is not disadvantaged, but he has even then no advantage of all his extra taxes. He had the "open door" before, except, as I have said, in competition with Spain. If not, then the President has handicapped the agricultural and manufacturing interests of his country, and given to the foreigner the trade of the Philippines.

It has been said that the Philippines will be to the United States what India is to England. This is what I believe they will be, but do people really know what India is to England? I have been in India—have met the Indians who speak English. They have spoken to me freely, because I was an American. What does education make of Indians? Incipient rebels! They have taken to heart Washington and our struggle for independence; they speak most of Cromwell and of Bolivar, of Wallace and of Tell.

England in India stands to-day upon a volcano. She has to keep 60,000 British troops there to hold the people in subjection. She does not trust one gun in the hands of the native troops. They can have



Andrew Carnegie

muskets, but the artillery is all held by the British regiments. England has been in India for nearly 200 years—this is the condition she is in to-day. Of all the perils of England, that of India is the greatest.

There is scarcely a statesman of Britain who does not wish privately: "Would that we were safely out of India!" More than one of them has said as much to me. What does India do for England? Ask the desolate homes that I have known in Britain. The late war against the Afridis plunged many thousands of homes in England into mourning. The greatest weakness that England possesses to-day is India. Were it not for India she would not fear Russia.

India is the curse of Britain, and the Philippines will be the curse of the United States. If you teach suppressed people at all, you make them rebels. Education is fatal to the government of a superior race. The Declaration of Independence will make every ambitious Filipino a thoroughly dissatisfied subject.

Only those who know something of the national affairs of Europe can realize the dangers into which the United States may be suddenly plunged unawares. Her entrance upon the stage in the far East will not be welcome to any but Britain, and that very properly, for British purposes only.

Mr. Stead, the well-known publicist, has just made the tour of European capitals, and reports, what I found there—that the United States' entrance upon territory in the far East is everywhere regarded with aversion, outside of England. "Outside of England," says Mr. Stead, "I have not met a single non-American who was not opposed."

It is no secret that, as the Saturday Review says, "The United States gets its territory in the East by the assistance of the moral power of Britain."

Only Britain's holding back the other powers gave us the Philippines. This let me put on record as my belief, that, should the United States assume control of the Philippines, she will have cause to ponder well over what the London Times tells us as follows:

"If the Philippines are to be effectively occupied, a large naval and transport power will be necessary. The United States must show themselves ready to repel any attempt on the part of other powers to attack a position which for some time can hardly be regarded secure."

It will not be sufficient that we have ships equal to any of the powers to insure perfect safety on the islands. Something more will be necessary, for European nations combine, and change combination, with alarming rapidity.

Europe is an armed camp, with nine millions of trained soldiers, two millions of these in the regular army, while the United States is a hive of peaceful industry, with only 56,000 regular soldiers. The warships of Europe number over 1,500—those of the United States only eighty-one.

Obviously, we have not yet prepared ourselves to defend distant possessions against these forces, even singly, much less if they are allied. If our territories are attacked, we are powerless. Of course we can prepare ourselves—no question about the Americans' ability to equal even Britain, or to excel her, upon the sea, or upon land, either. But the fact remains, we have yet to do this; and, until we do, it is madness to incur the responsibilities of territory in the far East.

One point should always be remembered—it is not actual war which brings most loss to business or to the poor laboring masses. War is destructive, but

short, and comes but seldom. It is the unceasing alarms of war which work most injury, causing capital to shrink from enterprise, frightening the whole financial, commercial and manufacturing world, and throwing upon the workingmen at last the chief burden of want and suffering, through loss of employment. Less from actual war than from the constant threat of war to which Europe is exposed come the distress of the laboring people.

The entrance of the United States into this zone of constant dread of war is even more to be feared than the danger of actual war itself, except so far as the latter involves direct sacrifice of human life. On the other hand, lack of steady employment through seasons of panic caused by alarm of war also claims its victims, sometimes in the course of years even exceeding in number those who fall in battle. There can be no genuine prosperity in a country which is kept in constant apprehension of war.

War between European powers is almost sure to break out in the East sooner or later, for it is in view of the coming struggle that every gun-plant, armor-plant and shipyard is busy in Europe, night and day, Sundays and Saturdays, preparing engines of war. The United States will then have to look out for alliances. We must combine.

It is all very well to say that Britain will be our ally—perhaps, perhaps—but perhaps not. It depends. Here is what the Saturday Review says: "Let us be frank, and say outright that we expect mutual gain in material interests in this rapprochement. The Americans are making their bargain under the protecting naval strength of England."

Surely nothing could be plainer than this. No American statesman should risk his country's safety

upon an assumption of alliance or aid from British or any other power, nor depend upon other than our own strong right arm—which is very weak, indeed, to-day, but must be made strong if we become an Eastern power and wish to protect ourselves.

It is well for the United States to appreciate its unrivaled position as long as she remains solid, compact, and without far-distant possessions liable to attack which she would consider herself in honor bound to repel. To-day, suppose all the naval powers combined against her, how trifling the injury they could inflict. Only the fringe of our country would feel it: the ports upon the sea. The nation as a whole would be untouched. Even the ports and the harbors are easily rendered impregnable by mines and torpedoes, and, in extreme cases, by closing the channels. The recent war has shown that naval attack upon fortifications is not effective.

We should have no exports for a time, but the annual domestic exchange of the people is not estimated by any one at less than fifty thousand millions of dollars; those of exports and imports have never yet reached quite two thousand millions—only about four per cent of the domestic. The annual increase of domestic exchanges is estimated to be just about equal to the total of all our foreign trade, imports and exports combined. No great and general suffering could ensue from their stoppage for a time during war. Some labor would be displaced, but the greater call for volunteers for garrison duty and to supply the abnormal demands always caused by war would require more labor. The number of volunteers taken from the ranks of labor at present causes a scarcity of men, especially throughout the Northwestern States.

The national wealth would not increase so rapidly during the blockade. This is all. No one need suffer for food or clothing or shelter, for all these would be plentifully supplied. No lives would be lost. Through Mexican or Canadian ports, even, every luxury would come to us. Upon our enemies would fall the ruinous expense of naval operations far from their base, and of waste of life. The loss of food products would cause famine and general distress in Europe. In Britain so serious would this become that, if not a party to the attack, her condition would soon compel her to interfere and end the war.

No glory could come to our assailants; only monotonous waiting, exhausting their powers of mischief, and compelling them to make peace upon our own terms.

Such is our position so long as we remain compact, absorbing only coterminous territory, upon which Americans will grow. Russia is in precisely the same condition, strategically considered, and none but she and ourselves can be impregnable.

Such is the old policy, and such the new. The one keeps the Republic the most peaceful, most prosperous, most happy, most highly civilized of all the nations, devoting less and less of her energies to the destructive engines of war, and more and more to the education of her people.

One path—safety, peace, prosperity, civilization, Republicanism; the other—dangers, taxation, sacrifice of life, wars, militarism, imperialism. Can there be any serious doubt as to the choice of the American people?

CHAPTER V.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

BY GENERAL J. B. WEAVER.

"No man is good enough to govern another without the other's consent."—Abraham Lincoln.

This postulate, selected from the many wise sayings of one of the greatest emancipators of the world, contains within itself, in indestructible form, the whole problem of rightful human government. It is in such perfect unison with the constitution of man's intellectual, moral and physical being; so in accord with our personal right to think for ourselves and hence our duty to put all virtuous thoughts into action, that we are forced to conclude, from the very correlation of human faculties, that it is the will of our Creator that we shall govern ourselves; and that beyond the self-imposed restraints of orderly association, no human power can rightfully be permitted to intrude upon this inviolable realm of individual kingship. Every faculty of the human soul seems fashioned to impel us, once and forever, to reject the yoke that would prevent the free exercise of this inalienable right. This is in concert with the teachings of the enlightened and heroic characters who fashioned our own infant republic. It is in harmony with the songs sung around the cradle of our liberties, and so inlaid in the very warp and woof of American character, to say nothing of its perfect agreement with the enlightened and self-imposed limitations against conquest, placed upon

our commander-in-chief when he was clothed by the Congress with authority to draw the sword, that it seems strangely incredible there should be found a single soul under our flag who would question the applicability of this fundamental truth to any body of people anywhere on this planet. And yet we have a distinguished and honored citizen sitting in the chair of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, who thinks that if he is not good enough, he is at least strong enough, with the aid of an army and modern battleships, to govern 10,000,000 distant and alien people against their consent. And to prove his ability to do so and to defend his position against attack, he has felt compelled to take the lives of thousands of people who were so wicked as to desire to govern themselves and so rash as to attack our own starry flag in the vain hope of securing this priceless boon.

Let there be no mistake here. We do not question the right, nor yet the duty of American soldiers in the Philippines to defend their lives and their flag when attacked. No sane man will question this. They must also obey their officers. And the President, too, must obey his superiors—the Congress, and the people whom they represent.

But in all contentions involving the taking of human life, either in single combat or on the field of battle, the moral sense of mankind must and will enquire whether the taking of life could have been reasonably avoided. And if it could, the verdict of history and the conscience of humanity will hold to strict accountability that man who deliberately and stubbornly refused to listen to the voice of reason. It is conceded by all rational persons that if an individual, in the pursuit of a lawful purpose, finds himself upon the possessions of another or on disputed ground, he may defend himself if attacked even by the occupant of the in-

vaded premises. His attitude, however, must be that of defense and not aggression. But if prior to the attack the resident party make overtures of peace and send representatives to peaceably confer about what should be done to avoid conflict, the party that refuses to confer and insists upon calling for re-enforcements to strengthen his disputed position, would be in poor attitude to insist that he was without fault if bloodshed followed. In the presence of such facts every court in christendom, and the whole world, would cry out, you sought the conflict and invited the shedding of blood. In such case the moral law would suffer violence. Now, is it possible that our government has outgrown the moral law? Can it so expand in importance as to reach a circumference where this law does not exist? Why, the great Greek poet, a thousand years before the sweet-spirited Nazarene graced this earth with His footsteps, or His angelic ushers heralded His mission of peace and good will, knew better than that. This pagan thinker exclaimed, "Behold the nation in the man comprised!" He saw all the rights, all the wants, all the power and all the limitations of national prerogative comprised in a single individual.

But the case of the Filipinos is yet stronger than this illustration. Here is a basic fact which must never be lost sight of when we come to form opinions concerning this important controversy which involves our national honor. Spain was involved in a double war in the Archipelago—one with us and another with the inhabitants of those islands. We were seeking to overpower her arms, while the latter were striving for liberty, home and native land. Their struggle for liberty antedated our arrival there more than two years. During Dewey's long wait for reinforcements to enable us to crush the inland power of Spain as he

had overwhelmed her upon the sea, what were these poor Filipinos doing? They sought arms of Dewey and received them. They did not rest upon them and simply besiege the commissary department for sustenance. No, they marshaled their liberty-loving hosts and fell upon their tyrannical oppressors. Stronghold after stronghold fell before them. They pressed forward through blood and death and only halted before Manila itself, and then only at the request of Dewey. They did not ask our army to liberate them and then bestow free government upon them as a gift. They proceeded to purchase it with their own blood. Dewey humanely cautioned Aguinaldo to observe the rules of civilized warfare in all he did. Certainly, said the gallant young hero—and it was done. Dewey dispatched to Washington that the dusky warrior was a born soldier of exceptional ability. The American commander, our whole people and the world knew the Filipinos were struggling for the right to set up a government of their own. We knew it before we ever landed a soldier there. It was an honorable aspiration that should not have been and is not offensive to the American people. But doubts existed among the Filipinos as to the ultimate intentions of the American government. Relations became naturally somewhat strained, but no conflicts ensued. Instead, representatives were dispatched to Washington with the view of reaching an amicable understanding and they asked to be heard. Was not this highly commendable? It is the time honored method pursued by all nations, both Christian and pagan, since the world began. Think of the scene! Representatives of a far off Asiatic people coming with an olive branch and bowing humbly in our capitol—in the very sanctuary of freedom—before an American President, in sight of an American Congress

praying for freedom! They had seen our star in the east and had come to worship it. They were burning to fit our humane theory to their dusky and long oppressed constituency. It was an unprecedented spectacle. It seemed that the beautiful and sublime prophecy of Thomas Jefferson, "The time will come when rivers of blood will cease to flow and leave to mankind the right of self government," was entering at least upon partial fulfillment, and that ours was to be the glory of closing the drama by stanching the flow of blood. Oh, merciful Creator, is it possible that our beautiful and beloved country could look upon such a scene and deny the prayer of those humble people? Agoncillo reached Washington. The two armies were still at peace. Let the world remember the fact that Agoncillo and suite were there to work for freedom and to avert war. Here one kindly look —a single smile and friendly shake of the hand—would have settled all and opened the way to permanent peace. Would that not have been both honorable and merciful? But how were the Filipino commissioners treated? Their communications were not even received or considered. No audience was granted or courtesies exchanged. Instead they were treated as intruders and given to understand that their presence at Washington was unwelcome. Their importunities for self-government were answered with fresh orders for the dispatch of additional troops and battleships to Manila—and this after Spain had yielded her sovereignty and hauled down her flag in all this vexed group of islands.

After having turned a deaf ear to this mission of peace, how arrogant and presumptuous it is for the President to expect that his Commissioners will be heard and respected by the Filipinos. They are, of course, a mere sacrificial embassy, instructed to wait

on the shedding of blood and the civilizing effect of Mauser rifles before issuing their oracular incantations to the natives. Have we grown so great that we cannot even talk to a humble people about their liberties—not even after we had assured all concerned at the start that we were humanitarians and had eschewed all thoughts of conquest? When courtesies were refused everybody expected serious trouble. Alas, it is upon us in appalling proportions. Hundreds of our brave soldiers and thousands of the Filipinos slaughtered and maimed. When these benighted people turned their vision toward us and caught one feeble ray of freedom's glorious light we refused to talk with them and found it necessary to shoot them to pieces by the thousand! Poor stricken souls! The light of freedom and the eyes which feebly beheld it extinguished forever! Do these people love liberty? Let their determination to fight for it against such fearful odds—their willingness to fight both Spain and the United States in order to obtain the priceless treasure—answer the question. Was it beneath our dignity to try by conference to avoid this holocaust? In the name of all that is merciful and Christian, upon what kind of times have we fallen?

But the President has at last spoken amid this revolting scene of desolation, not to the Congress ordained to deal with such momentous questions—but to guests at a feast in a distant commercial city. But let us avoid being captious or even conventional, while we proceed to briefly examine the defense which he has made of his policy, and take a glance at his expressions of purpose for the future. The eloquent periods of the President concerning destiny, civilization and the decrees of a higher power, are rhetorically faultless. But in view of the chart of authority under which he is acting and in the light of what is happen-

ing in the Philippines we cannot refrain from regarding the Delphic platitudes of the Boston speech as stilted, dreamy and heartless. It is unfortunate for the President that the blood-stained pages of all history abound with defensive apologies of this character. British sovereigns were full of such professions, both before and during their war for the subjugation of the American colonies. Cortes in Mexico and Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, plead the same humane purposes. If we will listen to the claims of Spain, her reign has always been humane and uplifting in all her possessions, Cuba and the Philippines included. Another remarkable feature about this speech is this, it discusses the war which was declared in behalf of human liberty, but nowhere mentions the Constitution of the United States, and only once hints at the Declaration of Independence; and then only to inform us that he cannot use it advantageously in the present exigency. He lifts the whole controversy above these antiquated parchments into the higher sphere of destiny and the unrevealed decrees of Providence.

"Congress," says the President, "can declare war, but a higher power decrees its bounds and fixes its relations and responsibilities." Then all Congress had to do was to start the program and the President and Providence would look after the details. Are we to understand that the President simply accepted and acted upon the naked declaration of war and disregarded the limitations against conquest imposed by Congress? Whether he intended to say it or not this is exactly what he seems to have done. But very high poetic authority says, "For the King's offense the people die," and is it not as reasonable to suppose that the "higher power" would be present to guide Congress when deliberating concerning a declaration of war which involved the lives of thousands of His

unoffending children—when it was humanely striving to fix bounds to the shedding of blood—as it is to infer that He presides and directs in the hell of battle? Is Congress God-forsaken, and is a slaughtering army Deity's chosen seat of power? If we can see the Supreme Ruler as the Lord of Sabaoth, can we not more clearly discern Him as the ever present Spirit of peace and mercy? To say the least these casuistic extravaganzas of the President are utterly meaningless, if indeed they should not be more severely characterized. If the President has received any revelation that the limitations against conquest in our declaration of war are displeasing to the "higher Power," let him make it known. Otherwise every enlightened citizen will judge of these things for himself. It is a coincident worthy of note that the recent speech of Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the British colonies, delivered at the annual dinner of the Silversmith's association of Birmingham, England, is couched in almost identical language with that used by our President in his speech delivered at the Boston banquet. Referring to our war with Spain, the Right Hon. Secretary said: "We now see our cousins across the water entering the lists and sharing in a task which might have proved too heavy for us alone." "Providence shapes our ends and intends us to be a great governing power, conquering in order to civilize, administer and develop vast areas of the world's surface, primarily to our advantage, but to their own advantage as well." The thing calculated to wound our pride in connection with the two speeches is the fact that the Right. Hon. Englishman spoke first and blazed the way in these recent discoveries concerning the ways of Providence with imperialism. Note the similarity of thought. It is marked and striking. It would seem there is an entente cordiale existing between the two governments which the

people know nothing about. Near the middle of this century our victorious army swept across the sun-scorched plains of Mexico from Palo Alto to their capitol and planted our flag over the halls of the Montezumas. And yet it seems that a "Higher Power" did not inspire President Polk, nor Generals Scott and Taylor to hold Mexico in order to uplift, educate and civilize her people. Providence did not so shape our rough hewn ends at that time. It would be well to carefully inquire whether this gospel of conquest does not emanate from a lower power instead of a higher.

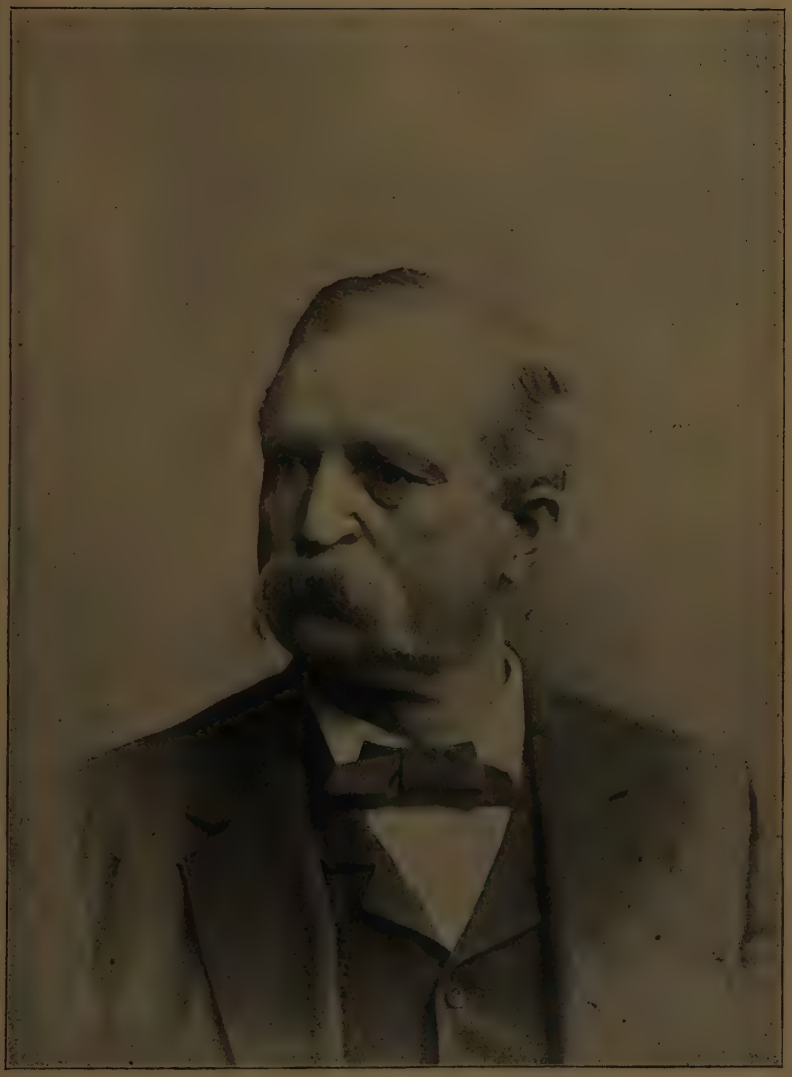
The President says: "We could not discharge the responsibilities upon us until those islands became ours, either by conquest or treaty." Then I submit that he should have gone to Congress, the great repository of the people's power, and asked for an enlargement of authority. But was not the cession of those islands forced from Spain? Did not the President instruct his commissioners to demand their cession as an ultimatum and as a condition precedent to peace? The whole world knows this to be true. We forced the transfer because we had military advantage; and we are now slaying the Filipinos to establish our authority over them. Will anybody deny that this is conquest? What right had the President to insist upon the cession of those islands under the grant of authority which he was exercising? It was as much his duty to observe the limitations of power expressed by Congress as it was to exercise the authority granted. Furthermore, equity and every consideration of the moral law required that we should, at the time the cession was made, take notice of the rights of the 10,000,000 inhabitants of that country. It was not necessary, either, to abandon the islands to anarchy, to have thrown them into the arena for the strife of nations, nor yet to have abandoned them to Spain. We

should have received their envoys and allowed the people there to organize and strengthen their own republic under our fostering care and protection. Mankind everywhere would have applauded such policy. No army of occupation, except a very small one, and that for a short time only, would have been necessary, and our brave soldiers would not be called upon to lay down their lives unnecessarily in that tropical clime. A couple of battleships anchored in a naval station of our own, which could have been had for the asking, would have furnished all the permanent force necessary.

Here is another precious morsel from the Executive. Speaking of the Filipinos, he says:

"Did we ask their consent to liberate them from Spanish sovereignty or to enter Manila Bay and destroy the Spanish sea power there? We did not ask these. We were obeying a higher moral obligation which rested upon us and which did not require anybody's consent. Every present obligation has been met and fulfilled in the expulsion of Spanish sovereignty from their islands, and while the war was in progress we could not ask their views. Nor can we now ask their consent."

We answer it was not necessary to ask the consent of the Filipinos to liberate them from Spanish tyranny. We had their unsolicited consent and co-operation. But our Declaration of Independence is greatly at fault, else it is necessary to ask their consent when we seek to establish another government over them in place of the Spanish authority expelled. The President thinks he has found a people to whom the Declaration of Independence does not apply! He assumes that we can deny to them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, unless they will submit to be governed by a people alien to themselves, whose seat of gov-



J. B. Brown

ernment is ten thousand miles away from their islands. When the President announces, as he did in his Boston speech, that he cannot ask the consent of the Filipinos to allow him to govern them, he virtually proclaims a war of extermination. If they will not consent but resist his authority he will kill. And if they continue to resist he must continue to kill. Could anything be more abominable or revolting? No conqueror, during the last two centuries, has ever enunciated a more deplorable theory. Has not our Christian nation yet learned that we cannot substitute force for the Golden Rule and then reasonably expect peace? Away with a policy which rejects the chart of our liberties and the standard of human brotherhood which it erected, in dealing with this helpless people who are nursing an infant republic largely fashioned after our own! There is yet an honorable way out of the dilemma. The road which leads toward the right always lies open. You may pile difficulties mountain high and still it is passable. Assure this people that they shall have the right to govern themselves, under our protectorate, and war will cease. The President concedes that the American Congress and people can now rightfully deal with this burning question. This is well. But they had the right to tell him how to deal with the question, and they did so in the unmistakable limitations which they placed upon him long before he ever landed a soldier there. Months have elapsed since the power of Spain was broken and the treaty is now ratified. Has any policy been outlined to Congress? Any form of government suggested? None whatever. Nothing has been laid before the present Congress as to any of the conquered provinces, and none even as to Hawaii. I mistake the signs of the times or the people will, ere long, indicate a policy which will be in accord with our own glorious Declar-

ation, traditions and Constitution. Having rebelled ourselves against a colonial system, and having broken Spanish colonial tyranny in the Antilles and in the Indian Archipelago, we will not tarnish our fame nor cloud the hope of an oppressed world by returning to the blood-stained policy of Imperial Britain.

CHAPTER VI.

ARE WE TO SPREAD THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION WITH THE BAYONET POINT AS MAHOMET SPREAD ISLAMISM WITH A SCIMITER?

BY HON. BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

I have listened to the long and able debate on the general proposition of annexation or expansion, and have never at any time intended to obtrude my views.

I have never in my legislative experience in this body or in any other assemblage heard so many speeches giving the most cogent reasons why a man should not vote for a proposition followed by the acknowledgment that the speaker notwithstanding intended to give his vote in its support. So at least a great many votes that have gone to the treaty and have enabled it to become the law of the land have been cast by men who have been in great doubt as to their duty and have at last yielded rather to pressure than to any conscientious or calm consideration of the result.

As far as my observation goes, and as I understand the present status of the American people, we have no Constitution left. The only rule which governs Congress now is the rule of the majority. We had an illustration of that when the Hawaiian treaty was rejected by the constitutional one-third, more than one-third refusing to ratify it, and the majority

brought in its resolution of annexation by which the Constitution was overridden.

I will qualify the statement I have just made as regards our having no Constitution left, which the majority are bound to respect, by saying that the two-thirds vote to ratify a treaty is the only scintilla of the original instrument which now remains to hamper the majority.

If the Senate joint Resolution should pass and be approved by the President it would mean nothing more than the cold-blooded enunciation of our power, and a declaration that we will deal with this question from the standpoint of our interests, regardless of the rights or the wishes of those 10,000,000 Asiatics who have come under our sway. And above all, notwithstanding the assertions which we heard here yesterday, that we could not take time to enter into negotiations with the men who had pistols at our breasts, or with those who had fired upon the flag, it appears to me that of all times in our history we could at this moment give forth a sound that would be generous and worthy of the great American people.

What caused this last battle of Manila? The reports which we receive through our newspapers all come from American sources; they charge that the Filipinos wantonly attacked the American army, and that that army had a right to defend itself, which nobody assumes to deny. But when we recollect that the telegraph lines from those islands are in charge of the American commander there, or of those whom he designates to control them, it is natural for us to suppose that nothing would be let out under the censorship which has existed for the last three months or more that would be in the slightest degree derogatory to the good faith or the honor of the American

army there. Time alone will tell whether this battle was provoked by the Filipinos for purposes of their own or by the Americans for the purpose of endeavoring to sway men in this Senate to ratify the treaty and change the status.

I recall one of Æsop's fables in which a painter had depicted a lion lying on his back prone beneath the heel of a man, and when he showed the painting to the lion the lion said, "Yes, you painted that; but if you will let me paint it, the situation will be just the opposite."

I come now to make a statement, upon which I base what I have just said, to this effect: That I have seen in the last forty-eight hours an invalided officer of the American Army, one of the regulars, who has just reached this city from Manila. From what he told me of the situation before he left there, I dare to assert that the American Army has been in a state of siege in that city for three or four months; that the lines surrounding the city have been in the possession of the Filipino army outside; that no American was allowed to cross them; and that those Filipinos, while they had not been actively engaged in firing upon our troops, have preserved a strict recognition of the fact that they were in an attitude of antagonism, that they did not recognize this Government as having any rights outside of the city of Manila. If that be true, the question recurs as to who may be responsible or who was responsible for the battle of Saturday night last.

As I understand the legal status the ratification of the treaty will bring about this result: That in the eye of the law the Philippine Islands are ours and the inhabitants thereof are to-day rebels; they are now ours by right of cession from Spain, ratified yesterday

by this body, and to be ratified soon by the Spanish Government; they are Americans, and since they have fired upon the flag they are rebels. That is the law of the situation as we see it and possibly as the world sees it.

Now, considering the fact, which can not be denied—for our consul reported the fact as far back as February, 1898, before Dewey sailed into Manila Bay—that there was a rebellion against Spain; that the Filipino army was lying outside of the city of Manila and hostilities were active; considering the fact that they organized a government as far back as last June; considering the fact that they have been actively engaged in collecting munitions of war and have recruited their army until, as this officer told me, they have not less than 40,000 men outside of Manila today, we are brought face to face with the consideration as to whether it was not wise and proper and the best thing from their point of view for the Filipinos to make the attack which they did, or which it is said they did, on Saturday night last.

If they went to war with the United States before the United States had a title to those islands in law, what is their legal status in international law? They can not be called rebels to us except from the extreme standpoint of legal technicality. We had no right in Manila so far as they were concerned; we only had rights there so far as Spain was concerned; and if, after they had their representative here pleading and begging for some word of comfort, some promise as to our policy, or some dim outline even as to the purpose of recognizing their right to local self-government, they grew desperate at last and fired upon our troops, the firing upon those troops before we had any legal title must give them the right of belligerents

in war, although they are subjects of Spain, because by the cession to us we simply fall heir to Spain's residuary title in those islands.

We may say they are rebels, and in strict legal interpretation they may be rebels, but let this war terminate how it will, history will declare that they are to-day patriots striving for what we fought for in our struggle with Great Britain in the last century; and we can not escape from the condition at least of doubt as to the course we ought to follow when we consider this fact. They were fighting for their freedom against Spanish tyranny two years ago, and they continued to fight up to the time when Aguinaldo left the islands and went to Singapore; they continued the fight, as our own consul said, after he left; they never did cease, some of them; there never was peace; and now the question which addresses itself to every American who loves his flag and loves his great country and loves the great principle upon which that flag rests and that country is founded is this: Are we to take the place of Spain as their taskmasters and tyrants?

I have looked back down the vista of what history I have read, and I appeal to any Senator here who may be versed in history to correct me if I am wrong when I say there never has been in the history of time a precedent for the existing condition now at Manila between the United States and the Filipino insurgents. The transition or transfer of the legal title to the islands during the period of their rebellion against one government and their effort to throw off the yoke and establish an independent government has never, so far as I recall, occurred before in the history of the world.

I say the present situation in Manila is unique,

it is sui generis, it is the first one of the kind that has ever existed in the history of the world where a colony of another nation at war with that nation for its freedom has been sold in the meantime to another power and their allegiance or sovereignty transferred.

We can look at it from our side and then look at it from theirs. I have just presented a few of the ideas which have occurred to me as having actuated the Filipinos in firing upon the American flag, as they did last Saturday, and that was that they desired to obtain in the eye of international law the rights of belligerents and not become rebels after the cession, as would have occurred if they had fired yesterday evening or this morning, after we had ratified the treaty.

Senators will recall the fact that some twenty years ago the South African Republic, known as the Transvaal, inhabited by the Boers, was annexed to the British Crown by proclamation. A British diplomatic agent had gone into that country to spy out the land, so to speak, to feel the temper of the people. Having notified his Government that it was advisable to do so, a proclamation was issued, simply reaching out and swallowing the whole Republic, putting them under the British flag, and sending a British governor, accompanied by a regiment of soldiers, to take possession of the cities, towns, and forts, and lo, the thing was done; the Transvaal was a part of the British Empire!

The Boers, a sturdy Dutch stock, who had fled from Natal and from the Orange Free State to get rid of the Englishmen, numbering only about 50,000 souls all told, met in mass meeting and in assembly time and again. They protested, they supplicated,

they negotiated, they begged. In the meantime, while these proceedings were going on, there was a transfer of power in England from the wily, brilliant, but unscrupulous Disraeli to that grandest of English statesman of this century, William Ewart Gladstone. But even Mr. Gladstone, though he felt that the incorporation of the Boers under the British flag and into the British Empire was wrong, did not feel called upon to say so officially; and in the Queen's address to the Commons, written, of course, by the prime minister, it was stated that their request could not be granted.

They were put under the British yoke in 1877. In December, 1880, three years afterwards, the machinery of the Government had begun to move, and the British tax-gatherer came around and levied on a wagon belonging to one of the Boers who had refused to pay taxes. He put it up for sale, but, instead of selling it, several Boers rode in on horseback, took charge of the wagon, and gave this British official notice to get out, and in a week's time the entire province was in rebellion against the British Crown, but struggling for that inherent right of man—self-government.

The British troops began to move; re-enforcements were rushed from Cape Town, from the adjoining territory belonging to England. The Boers were farmers who had never drilled, but the best riflemen in the world. The result was that in the conflicts with the British regulars these undrilled farmers whipped the redcoats, although they were officered by trained soldiers; and under the lead of one of their number, whose name was Joubert, they won some notable victories. Reading the history of his brilliant military deeds last night, I came to think that possibly

under similar conditions, extended a thousandfold as to this man Aguinaldo, who is now called an upstart and an organizer of a "tin-horn government" in Manila, in the Philippines, it may come to pass that under his inspiration and leadership a similar result will happen in those islands.

The last conflict between these Dutch farmers—half civilized if you choose to term them so—and the British army was at Majuba Hill, where a thousand picked British regulars had taken an impregnable position, as they thought, in the cup of an extinct volcano, a natural fortification with a rim around it. The Boers surrounded them, crawled up to the rim of the cup, and shot to death over half their number, put the rest to flight—those they did not capture—and "all the world wondered." Of course the British bulldog barked and the British lion roared. The demand from the rabble was, "Rush more re-enforcements down there and shoot those rebels to death."

What did Gladstone say and what did Gladstone do? Realizing that a continuation of the war involved the loss to Great Britain of many soldiers, realizing that his predecessor in office had committed a grave wrong, he sent a negotiator, Gen. Sir Evelyn Wood, with instructions to bring about an honorable peace by the restoration to those people of their republic, reserving only to the Queen of England the right of suzerain and the right to control the foreign policy of the republic.

What more do we want in the Philippines than the right of a protectorate, which will give us the control of their foreign policy, will keep away from those islands any outside interloper, or land-grabber, or robber who might desire to gobble them up and enslave the people? What right, or what advantage

will it be to us to do more than to get as to those islands a similar condition as that existing in the Transvaal?

When Parliament met, the leader of the opposition, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, moved a resolution censuring the Government for its disgraceful surrender to these struggling Boers in South Africa and the return to them of their inheritance of self-government. The English press—that portion of it which belonged to the opposition—clamored for punishment of the rebels and for their annihilation and extinction. Mr. Gladstone, in defending his conduct, made a speech in Parliament, an extract from which I shall read; and I would to God that it could be framed and hung up in every legislative chamber where the rights of man are discussed and passed on by legislators as a guide as to what true statesmanship demands. Here is what that great Englishman said:

"Our case is summed up in this: We have endeavored to cast aside all considerations of false shame, and we have felt that we were strong enough to put aside those considerations of false shame without fear of entailing upon our country any sacrifice at all. We have endeavored to do right, and to eschew wrong, and we have done that in a matter involving alike the lives of thousands and the honor and character of our country. And, sir, whatever may be the sense of gentlemen opposite, we believe that we are supported, not only by the general convictions of Parliament, but by those of the country. We feel that we are entitled to make that declaration, for from every great center of opinion in Europe, from the remotest corners of Anglo-Saxon America, have come back to us the echoes of the resolution which we have taken, the favoring and approving echoes, recognizing in the policy of the Government an ambition higher than that which looks for military triumph or for territorial aggrandizement, but which seeks to signalize itself by walking in the plain and simple ways of right and justice, and which desires never to build up empire except in the happiness of the governed."

There is no parallel for the action of the English prime minister. He was the first who had the greatness of soul to rise up and do what was right regardless of consequences. Can the American nation, which we claim to be the home of liberty, a nation of free men, imbued with ideas of self-government from their cradle, can we do less?

It was said that English honor demanded that these colonists should be punished. Everybody knows that England could have sent troops enough there to have killed the last man of them, just as we can send troops enough to Manila to kill, as the Senator from Montana said the other day, "to shoot them to death," if need be, to make them respect our flag and our authority. We can do it. Nobody doubts that. The question is ought we to do it? Is it honorable to do it? Is it right to do it?

As though coming at the most opportune time possible, you might say just before the treaty reached the Senate, or about the time it was sent to us, there appeared in one of our magazines a poem by Rudyard Kipling, the greatest poet of England at this time. This poem, unique, and in some places too deep for me, is a prophecy. I do not imagine that in the history of human events any poet has ever felt inspired so clearly to portray our danger and our duty. It is called "The White Man's Burden." With the permission of Senators I will read a stanza, and I beg Senators to listen to it, for it is well worth their attention. This man has lived in the Indies. In fact, he is a citizen of the world, and has been all over it, and knows whereof he speaks.

"Take up the White Man's burden—
  Send forth the best ye breed—
Go, bind your sons to exile,
  To serve your captive's need;
To wait, in heavy harness,
  On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
  Half devil and half child."

I will pause here. I intend to read more, but I wish to call attention to a fact which may have escaped the attention of Senators thus far, that with five exceptions every man in this Chamber who has had to do with the colored race in this country voted

against the ratification of the treaty. It was not because we are Democrats, but because we understand and realize what it is to have two races side by side that can not mix or mingle without deterioration and injury to both and the ultimate destruction of the civilization of the higher. We of the South have borne this white man's burden of a colored race in our midst since their emancipation and before.

It was a burden upon our manhood and our ideas of liberty before they were emancipated. It is still a burden, although they have been granted the franchise. It clings to us like the shirt of Nessus, and we are not responsible, because we inherited it, and your fathers as well as ours are responsible for the presence amongst us of that people. Why do we as a people want to incorporate into our citizenship ten millions more of different or of differing races, three or four of them?

But we have not incorporated them yet, and let us see what this English poet has to say about it, and what he thinks.

"Take up the White Man's burden—
No iron rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go, make them with your living
And mark them with your dead."

Ah, if we have no other consideration, if no feeling of humanity, no love of our fellows, no regard for others' rights, if nothing but our self-interest shall actuate us in this crisis, let me say to you that if we go madly on in the direction of crushing these people into subjection and submission we will do so at the cost of many, many thousands of the flower of American youth. There are 10,000,000 of these people, some of them fairly well civilized, and running

to the extreme of naked savages, who are reported in our press dispatches as having stood out in the open and fired their bows and arrows, not flinching from the storm of shot and shell thrown into their midst by the American soldiers there.

The report of the battle claims that we lost only seventy-five killed and a hundred and odd wounded; but the first skirmish has carried with it what anguish, what desolation, to homes in a dozen States! How many more victims are we to offer up on this altar of Mammon or national greed? When those regiments march back, if they return with decimated ranks, as they are bound to come, if we have to send thousands and tens of thousands of re-enforcements there to press onward until we have subdued those ten millions, at whose door will lie these lives—their blood shed for what? An idea. If a man fires upon the American flag, shoot the last man and kill him, no matter how many Americans have to be shot to do it.

The city of Manila is surrounded by swamps and marshes, I am told. A few miles back lie the woods and jungles and mountains. These people are used to the climate. They know how to get about, and if they mean to have their liberties, as they appear to do, at what sacrifice will the American domination be placed over them? There is another verse of Kipling. I have fallen in love with this man. He tells us what we will reap:

"Take up the White Man's burden,
And reap his old reward—
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humor
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light—
'Why brought ye us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?'"

Those peoples are not suited to our institutions. They are not ready for liberty as we understand it.

They do not want it. Why are we bent on forcing upon them a civilization not suited to them and which only means in their view degradation and a loss of self-respect, which is worse than the loss of life itself?

I am nearly done. Nobody answers and nobody can. The commercial instinct which seeks to furnish a market and places for the growth of commerce or the investment of capital for the money making of the few is pressing this country madly to the final and ultimate annexation of these people regardless of their own wishes.

We are face to face with the question as to whether we will be content to pass a resolution here which might be sent to the Filipinos as a flag of truce and a means of bringing about pacification and ultimate relinquishment of everything except the protectorate and such commercial advantages as we ought to keep, and which they will gladly give us. We are at a crisis in our own history, when we must turn our faces away from this temptation, turn our backs upon the incentive which has led us thus far, or we must move forward remorselessly and relentlessly, doing our own country and our own people more harm than can result to those people, though we exterminate them from the face of the globe. We have within our grasp, and possible of attainment, a glory and honor such as has never come to another nation in the history of the world—the honor of having fought a war for the love of liberty, animated by no greedy, selfish purposes hidden under the declaration.

We are still an undegenerate people. We have not yet become corrupted. We have in our veins the best blood of the northern races, who now dominate the world. While we make no pretenses—and it is a pity that we do not even stand up to the few

we do make—we have here a religion whose essence is mercy. We have had an experience in free government, government based on the will of the governed—for government by majority is government with the consent of the governed—and we have been taught by that government what so few people of this world have learned, both the firmness to rule and the power of obedience to that rule. We are a Christian people, and our missionaries, or those imbued with the missionary spirit, clamor for the annexation of these islands for the purpose of shedding over them the light of the gospel. We are asked to do as Mahomet did with his creed—carry the Christian religion to these people upon the point of a bayonet, as he spread Islamism over Western Asia and Eastern Europe and Northern Africa on his scimiter.

There are two forces struggling for mastery here, and the better instincts of every Senator within the hearing of my voice lead him to side with me in the proposition that we do not want to shoot people into a civilized condition if we know how to get around it. The two forces to which I have referred as struggling for mastery are liberty, light, and morality—in a word, Christianity—contending against ignorance, greed, and tyranny, against the empires of Mammon and Belial. In the summer seas of the Tropics in both hemispheres two flags are afloat to-day upon two ancient cities. They both bear the emblem of this great Republic, the Stars and Stripes. One goes there and is floating in the free air as a harbinger of peace, order, prosperity, happiness, liberty. The other floats in Manila as an emblem of power, cold-blooded, determined to do what? To subjugate those people at whatever cost and force on them such a government as we think is best for them, and then, according to

B. R. Tillman

the language of the resolution, determine afterwards as it may be to "our" advantage whether we will sell them or whether we will rule them in our "own" way, without regard to their rights.

Why not tell these people now before further blood is shed? We do not intend to do with you differently from what we do with the Cubans. We went into the war for the purposes of freeing a nation oppressed beyond all historical precedent almost. By accident or without premeditation you have fallen in our grasp. We bought you from Spain and have title. We only want enough of your territory to give us a harbor of refuge, a naval station, the right to protect you from outside interlopers, and to get such commercial advantages as you of right ought to give us. Pass a resolution of that kind, and then if those people will not listen to reason and continue to fire on the flag, I for one will say the blood will be on their own heads. Let slip the dogs of war and teach them to respect the Stars and Stripes. But we are there now upon a false pretense. We are there wrongfully. We are there without any justification to ourselves or to the civilized world.

I yield to no man in loyalty to the sentiments, my country, may it ever be right, but right or wrong, my country. But, oh, my God, when I think how dishonorable the prosecution of the war promises to be to us as a people, how little justification for it we have, even to ourselves, I would that you, my fellows on this floor, would pass a resolution which could bring about immediately a cessation of hostilities and a condition which might give the Philippine people the same right to bless us as Cuba will possess, and which command for us the admiration and respect of the civilized and pagan world.

[Extract of speech February 7, 1899.]

CHAPTER VII.

ANNEXATION FROM A LEGAL POINT OF VIEW.

BY GEORGE G. VEST,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MISSOURI.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That under the Constitution of the United States no power is given to the Federal Government to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently as colonies.

The colonial system of European nations can not be established under our present Constitution, but all territory acquired by the Government, except such small amount as may be necessary for coaling stations, correction of boundaries, and similar governmental purposes, must be acquired and governed with the purpose of ultimately organizing such territory into States suitable for admission into the Union.

I do not propose in my brief discussion of this resolution to say anything which will necessitate an executive session. It is not my purpose to discuss any treaty now pending or which may be hereafter submitted to the Senate.

It seems to me peculiarly appropriate at this time to examine what are the powers of Congress in regard to the acquisition and government of new territory. When the Attorney-General, the great law officer of the Government, declares publicly and deliberately that the Constitution made for thirteen half-rescued colonies, glad to be permitted to live at all, has grown too small for the greatest nation upon the face of the earth, it appears to me time to inquire what is that Constitution and the powers conferred upon Congress.

Every school-boy knows, or ought to know, that the Revolutionary war, which gave us existence as a people, was fought for four years exclusively against

the colonial system of Europe. Our fathers did not in the commencement of that struggle contemplate independence from the mother country. When the people of Rhode Island burned the British war sloop Gaspee in Narragansett Bay, and the people of Massachusetts threw overboard the cargo of tea in Boston Harbor, they acted as British subjects, proclaiming their loyalty to the Crown of England. When Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Light-Horse Harry Lee met at the old Raleigh tavern in Williamsburg, Va., and indorsed the action of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, they proclaimed themselves English subjects, loyal to the King, and only demanded the rights that were given to them as Englishmen by Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights.

What is the colonial system against which our fathers protested? It is based upon the fundamental idea that the people of immense areas of territory can be held as subjects, never to become citizens; that they must pay taxes and be impoverished by governmental exaction without having anything to do with the legislation under which they live.

Against taxation without representation our fathers fought for the first four years of the Revolution, struggling against the system which England then attempted to impose upon them, and which was graphically described by Thomas Jefferson as the belief that nine-tenths of mankind were born bridled and saddled and the other tenth booted and spurred to ride them.

When war became flagrant and battles had been fought and blood had been shed, the patriots of the Revolution came to the conclusion that there must be final separation from the British throne. Thomas Jefferson then penned the immortal Declaration upon the basic idea that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

It is incredible that the men who fought for seven long years without money, without men almost, and without arms, against the proudest and strongest nation in the world, resisting the doctrine upon which the colonial system of Europe is based, should, after being rescued by Providence from its thraldom, deliberately put this doctrine in the written Constitution framed to govern them and their children. How can it be true that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed when millions of human beings are held without their consent as mere chattels, to be disposed of as the sovereign power of the mother country may choose?

But, passing from this historic argument, which seems to me unanswerable, the highest tribunal in the United States, the Supreme Court, has settled this question by a unanimous opinion, when the ablest lawyers in the country were upon the bench. I am now about to refer to a decision which I know will revive bitter memories unless those memories be happily eliminated by recent events. In the case of Dred Scott against Sandford, Chief Justice Taney, delivering the opinion of the court, which constituted the opinion of seven of the justices out of nine, effectually disposed of the question as to whether the United States could hold colonies without the intention or prospect of forming them into States and admitting them into the Union.

I am perfectly willing to eliminate that portion of this opinion which referred to the introduction of slavery into the Territories, notwithstanding an act of Congress that prohibited it, and also declaring that the Missouri compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional. These questions were settled by shot and shell and saber stroke for all time to come. But the portion of the opinion that I shall now ask the Secretary to

read was acquiesced in by the nine justices upon that court, including Justices McLean and Curtis, who disagreed with the majority in regard to the slavery question, but acquiesced in the opinion that this Government had no right to adopt the colonial system of Europe. I read this extract from the court's opinion.

[Supreme Court. Opinions of the court. Dred Scott vs. Sandford.]

There is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the Federal Government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on the United States or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure, nor to enlarge its territorial limits in any way except by the admission of new States. That power is plainly given; and if a new State is admitted it needs no further legislation by Congress, because the Constitution itself defines the relative rights and powers and duties of the State and the citizens of the State and the Federal Government. But no power is given to acquire a territory to be held and governed permanently in that character.

"And, indeed, the power exercised by Congress to acquire territory and establish a government there, according to its own unlimited discretion, was viewed with great jealousy by the leading statesmen of the day. And in the Federalist (No. 38), written by Mr. Madison, he speaks of the acquisition of the Northwestern Territory by the Confederated States, by the cession from Virginia, and the establishment of a government there, as an exercise of power not warranted by the Articles of Confederation, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. And he urges the adoption of the Constitution as a security and safeguard against such an exercise of power.

"We do not mean, however, to question the power of Congress in this respect. The power to expand the territory of the United States by the admission of new States is plainly given; and in the construction of this power by all the departments of the Government it has been held to authorize the acquisition of territory not fit for admission at the time but to be admitted as soon as its population and situation would entitle it to admission. It is acquired to become a State and not to be held as a colony and governed by Congress with absolute authority; and as the propriety of admitting a new State is committed to the sound discretion of Congress the power to acquire territory for that purpose to be held by the United States until it is in a suitable condition to become a State upon an equal footing with the other States, must rest upon the same discretion.

I have stated that the nine justices of the Supreme Court acquiesced in that portion of the Dred Scott opinion, and I assert now, and challenge contradiction, that not one tribunal, Federal nor State, and not one public man of eminence in this country, has ever contradicted that portion of the Dred Scott decision until within the last six months, when the craze of expansion seems to have taken possession of a large portion of the American people.

Justice McLean, whose opinion was held, together with that of Justice Curtis, to have represented the opinion of the Northern people in regard to the power of a slaveholder to carry his slaves into a Territory, not only acquiesced in that portion of the Dred Scott decision which has been read, but proceeded to emphasize it in the elaborate and exhaustive opinion which he filed. I will now read extracts from the opinions of those two eminent lawyers.

> In organizing the government of a Territory Congress is limited to means appropriate to the attainment of the constitutional object. No powers can be exercised which are prohibited by the Constitution or which are contrary to its spirit; so that, whether the object may be the protection of the persons and property of purchasers of the public lands or of communities who have been annexed to the Union by conquest or purchase, they are initiatory to the establishment of State governments, and no more power can be claimed or exercised than is necessary to the attainment of the end. This is the limitation of all the Federal powers.—Mr. Justice McLean.
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> Since, then, this power was manifestly conferred to enable the United States to dispose of its public lands to settlers and to admit them into the Union as States, when, in the judgment of Congress, they should be fitted therefor, since these were the needs provided for, since it is confessed that government is indispensable to provide for those needs, and the power is to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory, I can not doubt that this is a power to govern the inhabitants of the territory, by such laws as Congress deems needful, until they obtain admission as States.—Mr. Justice Curtis.

I call attention to the fact that in these two dissenting opinions as to the introduction of slavery into the Territories, but concurring opinions as to the want of power in this Government to hold colonies as colonies not to be admitted as States and with no prospect of becoming States, the fundamental idea is conveyed that all the power of Congress in regard to the Territories is to be exercised as an initiatory process to their becoming States of the American Union.

The Articles of Confederation—to show how sensitive were our fathers in regard to new territory to be added to this country—made no provision at all for the acquisition of new territory. As Chief Justice Taney said in delivering the opinion in the Dred Scott

case, Mr. Madison in the thirty-eighth paper of the Federalist, over the signature of Publius, criticised the action of the Congress under the Articles of Confederation in admitting the Northwestern Territory when donated to the United States by Virginia, and in dividing that Territory into States, first forming Territorial governments; and he used the unconstitutional action, the unauthorized action of the Congress of the Confederation as an argument why a remedy should be applied in the provisions of the new Constitution of 1789 then pending, and for the adoption of which he was contending.

What are the provisions of this Constitution of 1789, for the first time alluding to the acquisition and government of new territory? There are but two provisions in that Constitution pertinent to the present discussion—first, "That Congress shall have power to dispose of and to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States." That is the first provision. Then follows, as a conclusion, that "new States may be admitted by Congress into the Union." What lawyer, what intelligent layman, will not admit that these two provisions are to be taken and construed together?

The Supreme Court of the United States has again and again decided, as Justice McLean and Justice Curtis said in their opinion in the Dred Scott case, that "needful rules and regulations" means that Congress shall prepare the Territory for admission into the Union as a State. I repeat, who can believe that there could be any other meaning, taking the history of the Revolution, the arguments of Mr. Madison, and the sensitiveness of the American people at that time to the addition of territory under any circumstances to the Union as it then existed?

The colonial system of Europe had not then assumed the vast proportions it has to-day. I have before me a paper taken from the consular reports for July last, which may prove of some interest in the present contingency. Great Britain expresses approbation of the new doctrine now proposed in the United States, which holds that we can enter upon the colonial system of Europe and hold colonies without any prospect or hope of their ever becoming members of our Union. It is not to be wondered at that the great apostle of the colonial system in Europe should now welcome with open arms the Republic they attempted to destroy, when it comes as a new recruit to the system which we fought for seven years, tracking the snow at Valley Forge with bloody feet in order to successfully resist it.

From this paper which I hold in my hand, and which I will ask to be inserted in my remarks for general information, it appears that Great Britain has in the mother country 120,979 square miles, and in her colonies 16,662,073 square miles. Great Britain has in the mother land 39,825,000 inhabitants, and in her colonies 322,000,000 subjects absolutely of the Empire, excepting Canada and Australia, where there is limited self-government, the remainder being Crown colonies, without the right even to govern themselves locally, and certainly without any right to participate in the action of Parliament.

France, also a republic nominally, comes next in this vast system. It must be said in justice to the Republic of France that much the largest portion, if not all, of its colonial possessions, were acquired under the Empire and the old Bourbon monarchy. Germany comes third, and so on through the list of European kingdoms and empires, with millions upon mil-

lions of human beings, hewers of wood and drawers of water, in utter defiance of human rights.

COLONIAL POSSESSIONS OF EUROPEAN STATES.

The extent of the German colonial possessions and protectorates, including the recently leased territory in Kyaochau Bay, is 2,600,000 square kilometers (1,615,577 square miles). The German Empire proper contains only 540,657 square kilometers (335,931 square miles), which is not much more than one-fifth of its colonial possessions. Togo, Kameruns, and German Southwest Africa contain together 874,189 square miles. German East Africa is nearly two-thirds as large as the last named, having 584,777 square miles.

England's colonies and possessions embrace no less than 16,662,073 square miles, or more than eighty-five times as much as the motherland.

A comparative table of the extent and number of inhabitants of the European colonial possessions shows:

	Extent.		Population.	
Country.	Motherland. Sq. Miles.	Colonies. Sq. Miles.	Motherland.	Colonies.
Great Britain	120,979	16,662,073	39,825,000	322,000,000
France	204,092	2,505,000	38,520,000	44,290,000
German Empire	208,830	1,615,577	53,325,000	7,450,000
Portugal	36,038	809,914	5,050,000	10,215,000
Holland	12,648	783,000	4,930,000	34,210,000
Spain	197,670	405,458	17,300,000	9,800,000
Italy	110,646	242,420	31,290,000	195,000
Denmark (Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland)	15,289	86,614	2,175,000	130,000

Germany takes third place as regards extent of colonial territory, but only sixth in point of population of her possessions. Only Great Britain, France, Holland, and Portugal have more inhabitants in their colonial possessions and protectorates than there are at home.

I assert that the fundamental idea of our American institutions is citizenship to all within the jurisdiction of the Government, except to the Indian tribes. The Constitution makes an exception as to the Indians because their position was sui generis and entirely anomalous. As the Supreme Court said in the Cherokee-Georgia case, the Indian tribes are independent dependencies. We have recognized their right to their own tribal customs and institutions, and at the same time put upon them nonintercourse laws, and exercised by legislation the power of control.

With that single exception all the people of the United States within its jurisdiction are to be citizens, and whatever may be said in regard to the older in-

habitants of new territory that may be acquired by this country, it is beyond any question, under the terms of the fourteenth amendment, that all children born within our jurisdiction, no matter what the condition of the parent is as to citizenship, are made citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside.

The Supreme Court has decided that the child of Chinese parents born in this country becomes a citizen, but that Congress can not take away the right of citizenship conferred by the Constitution on account of birth. If this is not settled by adjudication, nothing can be settled by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The fourteenth amendment provides that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction are citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside.

When, then, we take jurisdiction over millions of acres of what is now foreign soil and bring under our jurisdiction millions of human beings, whatever may be the case as to the citizenship of the older inhabitants of those areas, their children born under the jurisdiction of the United States become citizens, entitled to all the immunities and privileges of citizenship. If this amendment does not provide this, it is absolutely nugatory and void. If that is not one result of the war crystallized in the Constitution for all time and beyond question, then the results of that struggle are entirely misunderstood by the people of the United States and the world.

The fifteenth amendment provides that all citizens shall be entitled to the right of suffrage, being supplementary to the fourteenth amendment, which provides that all persons born and naturalized in this country, and subject to its jurisdiction, shall be citizens, obvi-

ously intending to exclude the children of ambassadors and of persons in transit through the country, as, for instance, in going from Mexico to Canada, when children are born en route. The words "and subject to its jurisdiction" apply to that class of persons, but except such children and the Indians. It was unquestionably the intention of the framers of this amendment and of the States which adopted it that American citizenship should apply to all the inhabitants of our common country.

But it is said that we have abandoned by precedent the application of the doctrine announced in this resolution, and that we have by legislative action admitted the right of the United States to acquire by purchase large tracts of territory to be held as colonies. I emphatically, distinctly, and without qualification deny that assertion. It is the resort of desperate disputants and anonymous patriots, who appear from day to day in the public press, and attack public men as Bourbons and decrepit statesmen because we choose to adhere to the principles of the Constitution and the traditions of our fathers, and to resist this new evangel, which threatens to sweep away all conservatism from the land.

When did we admit territory to be held as colonies? Was the Northwestern Territory brought under the jurisdiction of the United States in order to be held as a colony? The author of the Declaration of Independence was the author of the ordinance of 1784, called the ordinance of 1787, and in it provision was made for a Territorial governor, a Territorial judge, a Territorial marshal, and that as soon as 5,000 white male inhabitants should be found in that Territory, they should have the right to elect a Territorial legislature and pass laws for their own government.

Who will be reckless enough to say that Thomas

Jefferson, who penned the words "All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," would have degraded and branded with infamy that princely gift of Virginia to the country by inserting in it the hateful principle of the colonial system of Europe? Did we depart from the doctrine I am here to-day advocating with all my strength when we admitted Louisiana, during the Presidency of Jefferson, to the jurisdiction of the United States?

In the act of cession from France is found a provision that as soon as possible the inhabitants of that Territory shall be made citizens of the United States and the Territory itself admitted as a State of the Union. Did we give up the doctrine which I am here to-day advocating when Florida was purchased from Spain and brought within the jurisdiction of the United States? In the act of cession from Spain is contained the same provision as is found in the Louisiana purchase, that the inhabitants as soon as possible shall be made citizens and Florida admitted as a State of the Union.

But we are told by eminent statesmen that when Alaska came into the Union we surrendered this whole question. When Russia ceded Alaska to the United States the same provision was put in the act of cession, that the inhabitants of Alaska as soon as possible should become citizens and Alaska be admitted as a State of the Union.

When, where, how have we ever surrendered the great doctrine that this is a confederation of sovereign States and that there are known to the Constitution but four forms of government—first, the National government, then the State government, then the Territorial government, and then the District of Columbia? It is not possible to point out any other form of government under the Constitution.

It is said by the expansionists that Alaska was called, in the act to furnish a government for it, the district of Alaska. That is true. That act was drawn by ex-President Harrison, then a member of the Senate and chairman of the Committee on Territories, of which I was a member, and I called the attention of the committee at the time to the argument substantially I now make, that there was but one district possible under the Constitution, and that was the district of ten miles square, to be freed from political excitement, and to be used as the seat of government for the whole United States.

I was answered by the chairman of the committee that the word "district" made no difference; that the act itself provided for a territorial governor, a territorial judge, a territorial marshal, and four commissioners with the jurisdiction of justices of the peace in the State of Oregon. But the Supreme Court of the United States has settled this question. Mr. Justice Harlan, delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court in what is known as the Alaska case, declared that Alaska was a Territory of the United States, and that the supreme court of Alaska was properly added to the Ninth judicial circuit under the general law, which provides that from the supreme court of the Territory there shall be the right of appeal to the appellate courts in their respective circuits, and I read that decision:

In 163 U. S., steamer Coquitlam vs. United States, Justice Harlan, delivering the opinion of the Court, says:

"Alaska is one of the Territories of the United States. It was so designated in that order and has always been so regarded. And the court established by the act of 1884 is the court of last resort within the limits of that Territory. It is, therefore, in every substantial sense the supreme court of that Territory.

"No reason can be suggested why a Territory of the United States in which the court of last resort is called a supreme court, should be assigned to some circuit established by Congress that does not apply with full force to the Territory of Alaska, in which the court of last resort is designated as the district court of Alaska. The title of the Territorial court is not so material as its character. Looking at the whole scope of the act of 1891, we do not doubt that Con-

gress contemplated that the final orders and decrees of the courts of last resort 'n the organized Territories of the United States—by whatever name those courts were designated in legislative enactments —should be reviewed by the proper circuit court of appeals, leaving to this court the assignment of the respective Territories among the existing circuits."

The act providing a government for Alaska was drafted in accordance with the ordinance of 1784, called the ordinance of 1787, which provided for the government of the Northwestern Territory. The only difference between the two acts is that no provision is made in the Alaska statute for the subsequent creation of a Territorial legislature, prescribing the qualifications of electors of the members of that Territorial legislature when elected. It was never pretended that Alaska was anything but a Territory of the United States until within the last six months, when the new apostles of a new system have undertaken to teach the American people that the fathers were mistaken in our form of government.

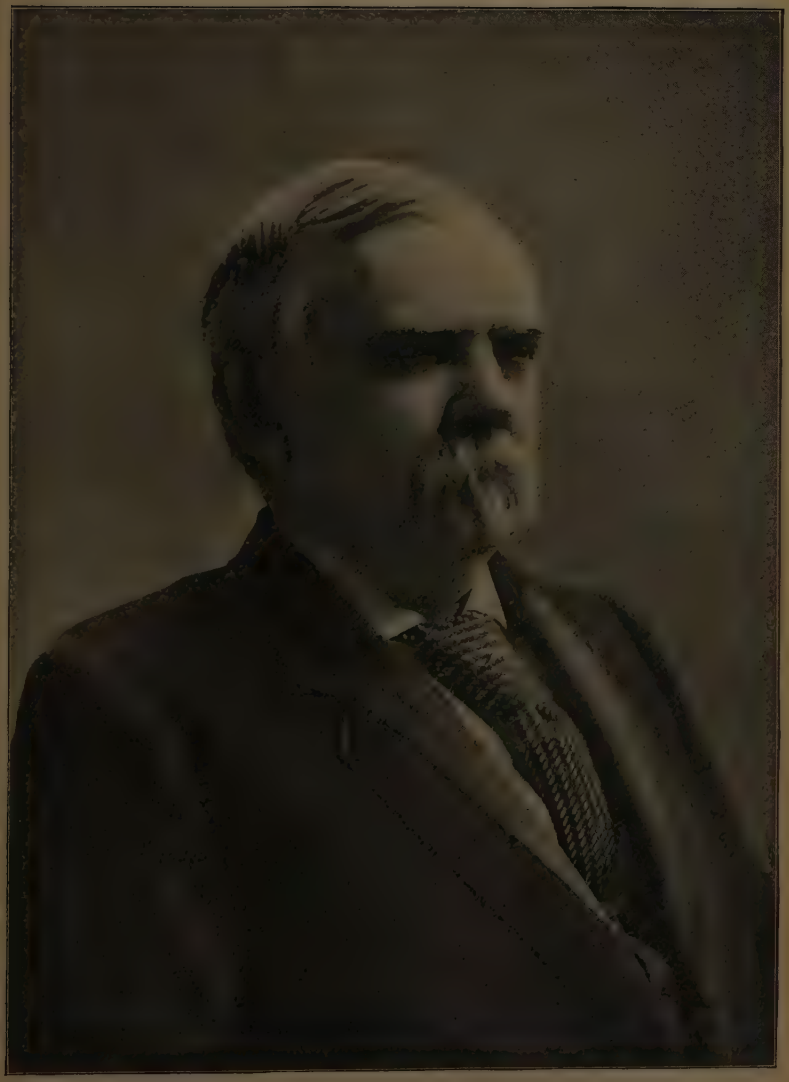
But, I come now to the great, overwhelming, and crucial argument made by the expansionists in favor of this new system. Driven in desperation by the earlier history of our country and by the decisions of the Supreme Court to their last alternative, they claim that the Territories, whether organized or unorganized —and newly acquired—are not subject to the Constitution of the United States and that the Constitution applies alone to the States of the Union. They quote in support of this monstrous proposition—for I can denominate it nothing else—the great name and authority of Daniel Webster. I am sorry to say that Mr. Webster, for whose learning and ability I have the highest respect, permitted himself, in an acrimonious debate with John C. Calhoun on the government of the territory acquired from Mexico in 1848, to say that the Constitution did not apply to the Territories.

Unfortunately at that period the slavery question

overshadowed everything else, and when new territory came into the Union the question was only, "Is it free or slave?" Calhoun contended that the Constitution of the United States recognized slavery, and that ipso facto it was extended over the newly acquired territory, and consequently carried the institution of slavery into it. Mr. Webster combated this position, and in doing so permitted himself to say that the Constitution did not apply to the Territories, but only to the States. He went further and asserted that under the Constitution the Federal Government had no right to acquire territory by purchase or conquest for any purpose whatever, ignoring the treaty-making power and the war-making power, which the Supreme Court and every respectable lawyer now admit gives to us the right to acquire territory by conquest or by purchase.

I repeat, that I have the highest respect for Mr. Webster as a lawyer and statesman, but the proposition he advanced is so monstrous as not to permit discussion. To say that the citizens of a Territory under the jurisdiction of the United States are excluded from the provisions of the Bill of Rights is to say that they are at the mercy of Congress without limitation; that Congress can prohibit the free exercise of religion; take away the right of trial by jury; take away immunity from unreasonable search and seizure, and destroy all the great rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights to all the people of the United States. For what did our fathers struggle?

For what did their descendants labor and toil if this monstrous proposition be now true? Fortunately for the country, and for human rights and constitutional liberty, the Supreme Court of the United States has, in repeated adjudications, settled this question, finally and forever against Mr. Webster's position.



G. G. Vest

As early as January, 1820, Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court, in the case of Loughborough, decided emphatically that the term "United States" in the Constitution meant the States and the Territories and every foot of the soil over which the flag of our country floats.

John Marshall wrote no nebulous opinion. His knowledge of the Constitution was only equaled by his command of the English language. I say now, although I differ with him in many respects politically, that until this country cease to exist and the English language cease to be spoken, John Marshall, of Virginia, will stand without a peer in the judicial annals of this or any other country. What said Chief Justice Marshall in 4 Wheaton, in the case of Loughborough vs. Blake?

In 4 Wheaton, "Loughborough vs. Blake," Chief Justice Marshall, delivering the opinion of the court, said:

"The eighth section of the first article gives to Congress the 'power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises' for the purposes thereinafter mentioned. This grant is general, without limitation as to place. It consequently extends to all places over which the Government extends. If this could be doubted, the doubt is removed by the subsequent words, which modify the grant. These words are: 'but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.' It will not be contended that the modification of the power extends to places to which the power itself does not extend.

The power, then, to lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises may be exercised, and must be exercised, throughout the United States. Does this term designate the whole or any particular portion of the American empire? Certainly this question can admit of but one answer. It is the name given to our great Republic, which is composed of States and Territories. The District of Columbia or the territory west of the Missouri is not less within the United States than Maryland or Pennsylvania; and it is not less necessary, on the principles of our Constitution, that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties, and excises should be observed in the one than the other. Since, then, the power to lay and collect taxes, which includes direct taxes, is obviously coextensive with the power to lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises, and since the latter extends throughout the United States, it follows that the power to impose direct taxes also extends throughout the United States."

It seems to me that this decision is a finality in regard to this new and astounding claim that the Territories of the United States are not embraced within the term "United States," and that the limitations of the Constitution do not apply to them.

We are told now under this astounding announcement that one rate of taxation can prevail in the Territories and another in the States, notwithstanding the provision of the Constitution that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the whole United States.

If this doctrine as now announced be true, not one of the limitations, not one of the grants, not one of the immunities provided for by the Constitution applies to the Territories of the United States, but only to organized States. I might submit this question with the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall, believing that the American people are not so besotted with the glare of military glory or the glitter of commercial advantage as to forget the great jurist who did so much to expound the Constitution of our country; but I will go further. In 101 United States, in the case of National Bank vs. The County of Yankton, Chief Justice Waite, in delivering the unanimous opinion of the court, said:

> **All territory within the jurisdiction of the United States not included in any State must necessarily be governed by or under the authority of Congress. The Territories are but political subdivisions of the outlying dominion of the United States. Their relation to the General Government is much the same as that which counties bear to the respective States, and Congress may legislate for them as a State does for its municipal organizations. The organic law of a Territory takes the place of a constitution as the fundamental law of the local government. It is obligatory on and binds the Territorial authorities; but Congress is supreme, and for the purposes of this department of its governmental authority has all the powers of the people of the United States, except such as have been expressly or by implication reserved in the prohibitions of the Constitution.**
>
> In the organic act of Dakota there was not an express reservation of power in Congress to amend the acts of the Territorial legislature, nor was it necessary. Such a power is an incident of sovereignty and continues until granted away. Congress may not only abrogate laws of the Territorial legislatures, but it may itself legislate directly for the local government. It may make a void act of the Territorial legislature valid, and a valid act void. In other words, it has full and complete legislative authority over the people of the Territories and all the departments of the Territorial governments. It may do for the Territories what the people, under the Constitution of the United States, may do for the States.

Now what can the people of the United States do for a State? Can they take away from the people of a

State the right of trial by jury, or of habeas corpus, or immunity from illegal arrest and search and seizure, or take away from them the right of religious opinion? If a Territory occupy the relation to the Federal Government that a county does to a State, what can the State authorities do as to a county? Can they govern it without reference to the State constitution; and could the Congress of the United States, under the decision of Chief Justice Waite, concurred in by all the judges, govern the Territories at their own will without regard to the limitations and prohibitions of the Federal Constitution?

I shall not weary the Senate by reading other opinions, but I will refer to them, and Senators can satisfy themselves. In the case of Thompson vs. Utah, decided in 170 U. S., the Supreme Court unanimously declared that the right of trial by jury in criminal cases to the people of a Territory could not be taken away by Congress and that the powers of Congress as to Territories were limited and defined by the Constitution of the United States and not unrestricted. They made the same decision in two other cases, the American Publishing Society vs. Fisher, 166 U. S., 464, and Crandall vs. Nevada, 6 Wallace, 35. There can no longer be a question, nor the shadow of a question, that the Congress of the United States is as to the Territories limited in its action by the Federal Constitution.

I have not controverted, and do not propose to controvert, the power of the Federal Government to acquire and govern territory, but I do deny that territory can be acquired to be held as colonies, peopled by millions of subjects not citizens, with no hope or prospect of its ever becoming a State of the Union. I may be answered by the statement that this is not a practical question, because Congress has exclusive jurisdic-

tion as to the admission of States, and it may hold this territory indefinitely without any idea of its ever coming into the Union; in other words, establish under cover and by a fraud upon the Constitution the colonial system which the Constitution never contemplated.

I will not insult my brother Senators by supposing that they would thus evade the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and when believing that the colonial system is not possible in this country, would vote to take in vast tracts of land inhabited by barbarians, intending never to allow this territory to come in as a State, but to hold it for commercial advantages alone, in violation of the fundamental law of the land. Whenever the Congress of the United States becomes so degraded as to do this, it matters little what occurs in the future. It is simply a question of time when the disastrous end will come.

We are told that this country can do anything, Constitution or no Constitution. We are a great people—great in war, great in peace—but we are not greater than the people who once conquered the world, not with long-range guns and steel-clad ships, but with the short sword of the Roman legion and the wooden galleys that sailed across the Adriatic. The colonial system destroyed all hope of republicanism in the olden time. It is an appanage of monarchy. It can exist in no free country, because it uproots and eliminates the basis of all republican institutions, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

I know not what may be done with the glamor of foreign conquest and the greed of the commercial and money-making classes in this country. For myself, I would rather quit public life and would be willing to risk life itself rather than give my consent to this

fantastic and wicked attempt to revolutionize our Government and substitute the principles of our hereditary enemies for the teachings of Washington and his associates.

[Extract of speech delivered December 12, 1898.]

CHAPTER VIII.

OUR GOVERNMENT AS IT WAS INTENDED.

BY GEORGE F. HOAR,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That under the Constitution of the United States no power is given to the Federal Government to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently as colonies.

The colonial system of European nations can not be established under our present Constitution, but all territory acquired by the Government, except such small amount as may be necessary for coaling stations, correction of boundaries, and similar governmental purposes, must be acquired and governed with the purpose of ultimately organizing such territory into States suitable for admission into the Union.

I am quite sure that no man who will hear or who will read what I say will doubt that nothing could induce me to say it but a commanding sense of public duty. I think I dislike more than most men to differ from men with whom I have so long and so constantly agreed. I dislike to differ from the President, whose election I hailed with such personal satisfaction and such exulting anticipations for the Republic. I dislike to differ from so many of my party associates in this chamber, with whom I have for so many years trod the same path and sought the same goal. I am one of those men who believe that little that is great or good or permanent for a free people can be accomplished without the instrumentality of party. And I have believed religiously, and from my soul, for half a century, in the great doctrines and principles of the Republican party. I stood in a humble capacity by its cradle. I do not mean, if I can help it, to follow its hearse. I am sure

I render it a service; I am sure I help to protect and to prolong the life of that great organization, if I can say or can do anything to keep it from forsaking the great principles and doctrines in which alone it must live or bear no life. I must, in this great crisis, discharge the trust my beloved Commonwealth has committed to me according to my sense of duty as I see it. However unpleasant may be that duty, as Martin Luther said, "God help me. I can do no otherwise."

I am to speak for my country, for its whole past, and for its whole future. I am to speak to a people whose fate is bound up in the preservation of our great doctrine of constitutional liberty. I am to speak for the dead soldier who gave his life for liberty that his death might set a seal upon his country's historic glory. I am to speak for the Republican party, all of whose great traditions are at stake, and all of whose great achievements are in peril.

No man can ever justly charge me with a lack of faith in my countrymen, or a lack of faith in the principles on which the Republic is founded. If during thirty years' service within these walls, or during fifty years of constant, active, and absorbed interest in public affairs, there has ever come from my lips an utterance showing lack of faith in the people, in the Republic, in country, in liberty, or in the future, let them be silent now. I thank God that if I have no other Christian virtue, I have at least in the fullest measure that which stands as the central figure in the mighty group which the Apostle says is forever to abide—Hope. I thank God that as my eyes grow dim they look out on a fairer country, a better people, a brighter future.

I have in my humble way, poor enough I know, but it was my best, defended the character of the

American people, their capacity for self-government, the character of the great legislative bodies through which that government is exercised, whenever and by whomsoever assailed. I do not distrust them now. But the strongest frame may get mortal sickness from one exposure; the most vigorous health or life may be destroyed by a single drop of poison, and what poison is to the human frame the abandonment of our great doctrine of liberty will be to the Republic.

After all, I am old-fashioned enough to think that our fathers, who won the Revolution and who framed the Constitution, were the wisest builders of states the world has yet seen. I think that they knew where to seek for the best lessons of experience and they knew how to lay down the rules which should be the best guides for their descendants. They did not disdain to study ancient history. They knew what caused the downfall of the mighty Roman Republic. They read, as Chatham said he did, the history of the freedom, of the decay, and the enslavement of Greece. They knew to what she owed her glory and to what she owed her ruin. They learned from her the doctrine that while there is little else that a democracy can not accomplish it can not rule over vassal states or subject peoples without bringing in the element of death into its own constitution. The Americans have been aptly called the Greeks of modern times. The versatile, enterprising, adventurous Yankee has been likened to the people of Athens, who were of the Ionian race, and the brave, constant, inflexible men of the South to the brave, constant, and inflexible Sparta, whose people were Dorians.

There are two lessons our fathers learned from the history of Greece which they hoped their children would remember—the danger of disunion and do-

mestic strife and an indulgence in the greed and lust of empire. The Greeks stood together against the power of Persia as the American States stood together against the tyranny of England. For us the danger of disunion has happily passed by. Our Athenians and our Spartans are bound and welded together again, each lending to the other the strength of their steel and the sharpness of their tempered blade in an indissoluble Union. Our danger to-day is from the lust of empire. It is a little remarkable that the temptation that besets us now lured and brought to ruin the Athenian people in ancient times. I hope that we may be able to resist and avert that danger as we resisted and averted the peril of disunion. Pericles and Cleon, the conservative and the radical leaders, differing in everything else, united in their vain warning to their countrymen against this peril. Cleon, though a demagogue and a radical, boldly told his countrymen that—

> A democracy was incapable of holding dominion over others; that they were slaves to every new paradox, and that as they listened to the orators for expansion they resembled men sitting to be amused by rhetoricians rather than deliberating on state affairs.

They disregarded his warning. The result was the Syracusan expedition and the overthrow of the Athenian Republic.

Professor Creasy, in his Six Decisive Battles of the World, well says:

> There has never been a republic yet in history that acquired dominion over another nation that did not rule it selfishly and oppressively. There is no single exception to this rule either in ancient or modern times. Carthage, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Holland, and republican France, all tyrannized over every province and subject State where they gained authority.

My excellent friend, the Senator from Connecticut, after stating that in his judgment Governments derive their just powers from the consent of "some of the governed," is polite enough to add that he wishes

I understood the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence as well as the fathers did.

I am not speaking only of his denial of the great doctrine of constitutional liberty and of political morality that government derives its just power from the consent of the governed, and that any people has the right, when it thinks its existing government is destructive of the great ends of life, liberty, and happiness, to throw off the old government and make a new one for itself, and certainly if it have that right no other man has the right to impose one on it against its consent. But I am not speaking of that. I am speaking of his astonishing and most extravagant construction of the powers of Congress under the Constitution.

That I may not do him an injustice, I have carefully digested and put in order the different propositions to which he commits himself, to which he seeks to commit the Senate, and which he wishes to make the foundation for the new departure which he desires the country to take.

The Senator from Connecticut says:

> As to every matter the United States as a nation possesses sovereign power, except only where sovereignty has been reserved to the States and the people.

He says again:

> As a nation it possesses every sovereign power not reserved in its Constitution to the States or to the people. The right to acquire territory was not reserved, and is therefore an inherent, sovereign right. In the right to acquire territory is found the right to govern it, and as the right to acquire is a sovereign, inherent right, the right to govern is a sovereign right not limited in the Constitution.

He says again:

> A sovereign right cannot be limited.

He would—

> like any Senator to point out to him the language in which the Constitution places any limit upon a sovereign or inherent power, or prescribes the mode and manner in which it would be exercised.

These propositions of the Senator from Connecticut I deny. I deny them, not as a strict constructionist; but as a liberal constructionist; not as a States' rights man, but as a Federalist; not as a disciple of Madison or Calhoun, but as a disciple of Alexander Hamilton and Daniel Webster and Charles Sumner.

1. I affirm that every constitutional power, whether it be called a power of sovereignty or of nationality —neither of which phrases is found in terms in the Constitution—or whether it be a power expressly declared and named therein, is limited to the one supreme and controlling purpose declared as that for which the Constitution itself was framed: "In order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity." Now, the liberal constructionists claim that everything which is done to accomplish either of these purposes, unless expressly prohibited, may be constitutionally done by the law-making power. And in that I agree with them.

I repeat, the first article of the Constitution, section 1, says: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States." So, certainly, there are legislative powers that are not "herein granted." All legislative powers are powers of sovereignty. Mark the clear distinction between the legislative powers of the States and between the sovereign powers of the States and those belonging to the United States. The powers of the United States must be affirmatively delegated or they do not exist. The powers claimed by the States must be expressly prohibited or they do exist. And there are other powers not delegated to the United

States and prohibited to the States which are reserved to the people; that is, there are powers which the people of the United States mean shall not be exercised by anybody on the face of the earth, so far as their jurisdiction and authority extend, unless they shall hereafter change their mind and grant them.

But the question with which we now have to deal is whether Congress may conquer and may govern, without their consent and against their will, a foreign nation, a separate, distinct, and numerous people, a territory not hereafter to be populated by Americans, to be formed into American States and to take its part in fulfilling and executing the purposes for which the Constitution was framed, whether it may conquer, control and govern this people, not for the general welfare, common defense, more perfect union, more blessed liberty of the people of the United States, but for some real or fancied benefit to be conferred against their desire upon the people so governed or in discharge of some fancied obligation to them, and not to the people of the United States.

The question is whether the men who framed the Constitution, or the people who adopted it, meant to confer that power among the limited and restrained powers of the sovereign nation that they were creating.

I declare not only that this is not among the express powers conferred upon the sovereignty they created, that it is not among the powers necessarily or reasonably or conveniently implied for the sake of carrying into effect the purposes of that instrument, but that it is a power which it can be demonstrated by the whole contemporaneous history and by our whole history since until within six months they did not mean should exist—a power that our fathers and

their descendants have ever loathed and abhorred—and that they believed that no sovereign on earth could rightfully exercise it, and that no people on earth could rightfully confer it. They not only did not mean to confer it, but they would have cut off their right hands, every one of them, sooner than set them to an instrument which should confer it.

Now, let us trace for a moment the history of this beautiful, august, pure, invincible sovereign of ours. The idea that our fathers intended to clothe it with such a sovereignty is as repugnant to me as the idea that because God created a seraph, or an archangel, or even a man in His own image, He intended that he should be at liberty to commit murder or robbery or any form of bestiality because He had clothed him with the physical power to accomplish it.

Expositio contemporanea maxime valet. The great contemporaneous exposition of the Constitution is to be found in the Declaration of Independence. Over every clause, syllable, and letter of the Constitution the Declaration of Independence pours its blazing torchlight. The same men framed it. The same States confirmed it. The same people pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to support it. The great characters in the constitutional convention were the great characters of the Continental Congress. There are undoubtedly, among its burning and shining truths, one or two which the convention that adopted it were not prepared themselves at once to put into practice. But they placed them before their coutrymen as an ideal moral law to which the liberty of the people was to aspire and to ascend as soon as the nature of existing conditions would admit. Doubtless slavery was inconsistent with it, as Jefferson, its great author, has in more than

one place left on record. But at last in the strife of a great civil war the truth of the Declaration prevailed and the falsehood of slavery went down, and at last the Constitution of the United States conformed to the Declaration and it has become the law of the land, and its great doctrines of liberty are written upon the American flag wherever the American flag floats. Who shall haul them down?

When I hear from some of our friends this new doctrine of constitutional interpretation, when I hear attributed to men in high places, counselors of the President himself, that we have outgrown the principles and the interpretation which were sufficient for our thirteen States and our 3,000,000 of people in the time of their weakness, and by which they have grown to 75,000,000 and forty-five States, in this hour of our strength, it seems to me these counselors would have this nation of ours like some prosperous thriving youth who reverses suddenly all the maxims and rules of living in which he has been educated and says to himself: "I am too big for the Golden Rule. I have outgrown the Ten Commandments. I no longer need the strait waistcoat of the moral law. Like Jeshuron, I will wax fat and kick."

As I read some of these utterances I was reminded of an observation made by a very bright English historian, who seems to aptly hit the mood of the expansion politicians of our time:

> A conscience is no doubt a very useful possession in early years. But when a man has kept one till middle life, he ought to have established a certain modus vivendi with it; it should be absorbed and become a part of himself, not a separate faculty delivering oracular utterances.

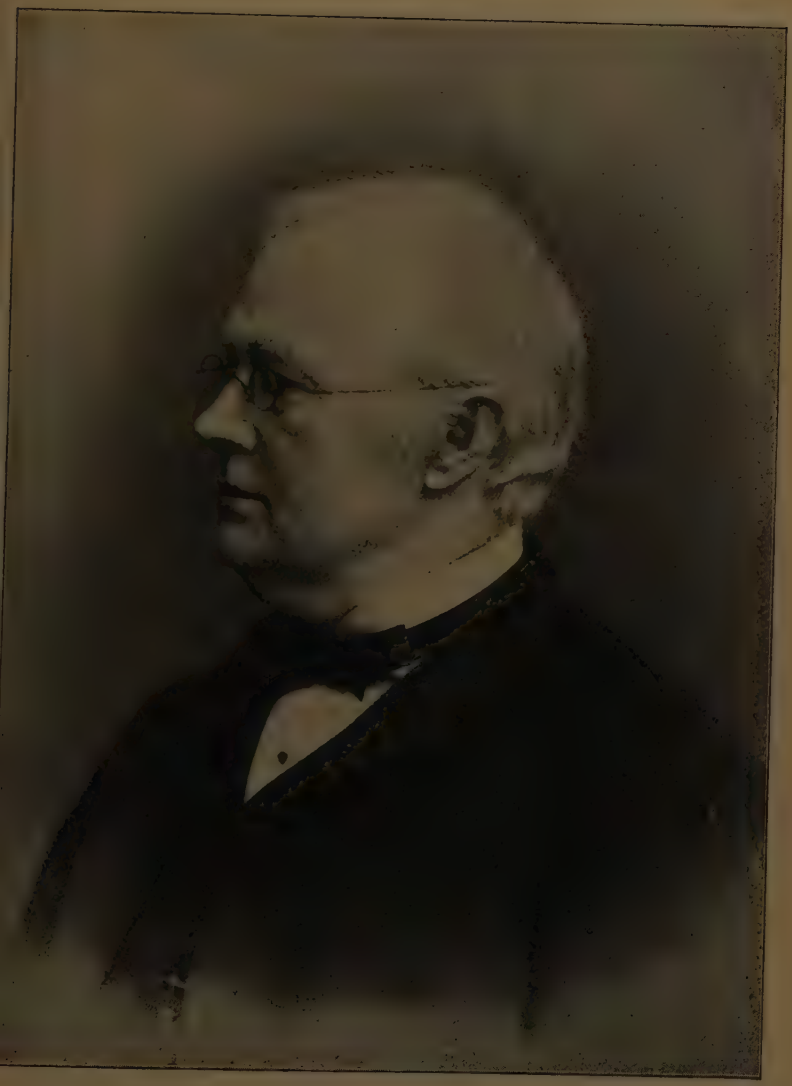
If the United States forsake this doctrine of the fathers, who shall take it up? Is there to be no place on the face of the earth hereafter where a man can

stand up by virtue of his manhood and say, "I am a man"?

In general, the friends of what is called imperialism or expansion content themselves with declaring that the flag which is taken down every night and put up again every morning over the roof of this Senate Chamber, where it is in its rightful place, must never be taken down where it has once floated, whether that be its rightful place or not—a doctrine which I shall have occasion to say before I get through is not only without justification in international law, but if it were implanted there would make of every war between civilized and powerful nations a war of extermination or a war of dishonor to one party or the other.

If you can not take down a national flag where it has once floated in time of war, we were disgraced when we took our flag down in Mexico and in Vera Cruz, or after the invasion of Canada; England was dishonored when she took her flag down after she captured this capital; and every nation is henceforth pledged to the doctrine that wherever it puts its military foot or its naval power with the flag over it, that must be a war to the death and to extermination or the honor of the state is disgraced by the flag of that nation being withdrawn.

Sovereignty in part is vested in and belongs to the nation as a unit, and may be exercised by national agencies exclusively. Part of this sovereignty is vested in and belongs to the States as units, and may be exercised by their agencies exclusively. Part of this sovereignty, though exercised by other sovereigns, the people have not delegated to the Government of the United States as a unit, and have prohibited it to the States. That part is reserved to the



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people by the express terms of the Constitution, because they do not think fit that it shall be exercised at all.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people—Amendment, Article 10.

The sovereignty which can be exercised by the nation as a unit is only that which is necessary for accomplishing the purposes of the Constitution, and must be either expressly granted therein or necessary or convenient, in the judgment of Congress, to accomplish the purposes expressly declared therein.

All other sovereignty is reserved to the States or to the people.

The power to conquer alien peoples and hold them in subjugation is nowhere expressly granted.

The power to conquer alien peoples and hold them in subjugation is nowhere implied as necessary for the accomplishment of the purposes declared by the Constitution.

It is clearly shown to be one that ought not to be exercised by anybody—one that the framers of the Constitution thought ought not to be exercised by anybody.

1. Because it is immoral and wicked in itself.

2. Because it is expressly denied in the Declaration of Independence, the great interpreter and expounder of the meaning of the Constitution, which owes its origin to the same generation and largely to the same men.

3. It is affirmed that it is immoral and unfit to be exercised by anybody—in numerous instances by contemporary State constitutions and the contemporary writers and authorities on public law, who expressed

the opinion of the American people in that generation who adopted the Constitution as well as of the men who framed it.

The power to hold property is implied, whether that property be land or chattels. It exists because—

1. It is essential to the accomplishment of the purposes of the Constitution. That is undoubtedly as true of the right to acquire and hold property in land as other property.

2. The power also is clearly affirmed by the letter of the Constitution where it declares, Article IV, section 3:

> "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State."

This power to dispose of the territory or other property belonging to the United States, and to make all needful rules and regulations respecting it, and the power implied from that provision, to acquire and hold territory or other property, like other constitutional powers, is a power to be exercised only for constitutional purposes.

It is like the power to acquire and dispose of ships or cannon or public buildings or a drove of pack mules or a library, to be exercised in accomplishment of the purposes of the Constitution and not to be exercised where it is not reasonably necessary or convenient for the accomplishment of those purposes. We have no more right to acquire land or hold it, or to dispose of it for an unconstitutional purpose than we have a right to fit out a fleet or to buy a park of artillery for an unconstitutional purpose.

Among the constitutional purposes for which Congress may acquire and hold territory and other property are the building of forts, and the establishment of

post-offices and subtreasuries and custom-houses. In all these cases it is accomplishing a clearly constitutional purpose.

One of the constitutional purposes is the enlargement of the country by the admission of new States, and therefore Congress may lawfully acquire, hold and dispose of territory with reference to the accomplishment of that great constitutional purpose, among others. It may also acquire adjoining or outlying territory, dispose of it, make rules and regulations for it for the purposes of national security and defense, although it may not be expected that the territory so acquired, held, and disposed of shall ever come into the Union as a State. That is, as many people think, the case of Hawaii.

Now the disposing of and the making rules and regulations for territory acquired for either of these purposes necessarily involves the making laws for the government of the inhabitants—forever, if the territory is not to come in as a State, or during the growing and transition period if and until it shall come in as a State.

But it is to be observed, and it should not be forgotten, that all this is a constitutional provision which looks chiefly at the land and territory as mere property. And it applies, so far as its terms, and its general spirit and purpose are concerned, equally to public lands within a State as to those which are without it. And there is no other provision in the Constitution for making rules and regulations for the territory of the United States or its other property, in the case where the public lands are in Alabama or Florida or Iowa, than where they are in Alaska or Arizona or wherever the public lands are outside any State jurisdiction.

The framers of the Constitution were not thinking mainly and chiefly, when they enacted that clause, of lawmaking, of the government of men, of the rights of citizenship. They were thinking of public property, and, although the lawmaking, the rights of men, citizenship have to be recognized from the necessity of the case, where the public property is a large tract of land fit for human settlement, yet the language they used and the thought in their minds treated the element of property as the principal, and the element of citizenship as something only temporary and passing, only to last until the property, territory and inhabitants can be given over to freedom under the jurisdiction of a State, to be admitted as an equal member of our political partnership. And two things about this clause are quite significant. One is that it is not contained in the article which gives Congress general legislative powers, but is sandwiched in between the section providing for the admission of new States, and the section providing for guaranteeing to every State a republican form of government, showing that they were not thinking of conferring a general legislative power over the inhabitants, and were only thinking, so far as the inhabitants of a territory were concerned, of the transition or expectant period while they were awaiting admission to statehood. And you are not now proposing to acquire or own property in the Philippines with dominion as a necessary incident; you are not thinking of the ownership of land there. You propose, now, to acquire dominion and legislative power and nothing else. Where in the Constitution is the grant of power to exercise sovereignty where you have no property?

When they come to provide for permanent government, for lawmaking, for the rights of citizens not

in a transition state, although it was in a little tract not to exceed ten miles square, the framers used a very different and a much more dignified language. Then comes the phraseology, apt and fitting for dealing with manhood and with human rights, the language in which lawmaking is provided for:

> Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district—
>
> Not to exceed ten miles square—
>
> as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards and other needful buildings.

This is the only exclusive legislation granted in that instrument, except as an incident to ownership of land.

These men, who after making this provision for making rules and regulations for territory or other property—they had already got the vast Northwest—when they came to speak of exclusive legislation, thought they had to put it in separately, if it was to be permanent and not over people who were coming in as a State, even for ten miles—meant to have their right to exercise exclusive legislation over subject-peoples, millions of miles square of territory, which they did not expect to own, to be inferred from the clause relating to the disposition of property?

The acquisition of Alaska was defended by Charles Sumner, intrepid advocate and martyr of liberty, to whom the Declaration of Independence was as another gospel. The difference between his purposes and those of the men who defend this new policy is apparent. The closing sentence of his great speech on the cession of Russian America, made in executive session and made public by order of the Senate, cover-

ing 170 pages in his collected works, sets forth the benefit which its acquisition by the United States will confer upon Alaska:

> But your best work and most important endowment will be the republican government which, looking to a long future, you will organize, with schools free to all, and with equal laws, before which every citizen will stand erect in the consciousness of manhood. Here will be a motive power without which coal itself is insufficient. Here will be a source of wealth more inexhaustible than any fisheries. Bestow such a government and you will give what is better than all you can receive, whether quintals of fish, sands of gold, choicest fur, or most beautiful ivory.

The representatives of Connecticut in the convention that framed the Constitution, afterward predecessors of the Senator in the Senate, made their report to the governor when they went home. This is what they say:

> Some additional powers are vested in Congress, which was a principal object that the States had in view in appointing the convention. Those powers extend only to matters respecting the common interests of the Union, and are specially defined.

When the delegates of the Old Thirteen set their hands to that Declaration, the people of the United States stepped forth armed in its invincible panoply, like Minerva from the head of Jove, the greatest world power the world had ever seen. The seed they planted on that July morning grew up into crowns and scepters. Whenever we depart from it the world power of the great Republic is at an end.

I desire to submit to my brethren and Senators this proposition, and ask them if it be not a rule of universal and commanding force:

Courts, as Mr. Justice Brewer so well says, may not be able to treat such a declaration of principle as having the force of organic law, or make them the basis of judicial decision in determining Constitutional rights which depend upon the letter of the Constitution. Courts have no discretion. They must decide in accordance with the law as declared by the lawmaker, and the lawmaker, if within the letter and lan-

guage of the Constitution, must settle the question whether the law he enacts is in accordance also with its spirit and purpose.

But a very different rule is binding upon the conscience of the legislator, whether the legislation he is framing be in the form of a treaty or a statute. He has discretion within the Constitutional limits. He may legislate or he may refrain from legislating. He may consent to a treaty or he may withhold his consent to a treaty. Now, I affirm that he is bound—bound the more strongly and not the less strongly because his conscience is the only safety of the people—to refrain from legislating whenever the legislation that is proposed be contrary to the spirit and the purpose of the Constitution, even though he may not be restrained by its letter. He is not to study the Constitution, which he is sworn to support, to find holes to creep out of. He is not to search to see whether the fathers have failed to make their general language sufficient to cover every conceivable case, and to feel at liberty to go against the spirit of the Constitution if he find one not covered by its letter.

Are the thought and the spirit to prevail, and the interpretation we are to give the great document that which secures liberty to the people of the United States, or to people everywhere where the flag floats?

Are you to take the spirit which maketh life, or the letter which killeth in this hour of great national temptation in one of the greatest actions and greatest eras in all history?

Abraham Lincoln had some sensible ideas on this matter, as we used to think. We have heard something about the flag, I think, within the last six months, and the people of the world have heard something about the flag, and as they have seen that new

constellation rising in the Orient, going around the world with the sun, they are curious to know what it stands for and what it means. We have heard something about the flag in modern times. Abraham Lincoln was invited one day to raise the banner over the old Independence Hall in Philadelphia, on that memorable journey from his home to the national capital. When we think of what followed, the words he uttered there seem prophetic. They rival in grandeur the immortal words at Gettysburg. We are asked what else we can do with the Philippine Islands, unless we are to sacrifice the immortal principles of the Declaration. That answer can be easily and satisfactorily given. But if it could not be given we know very well what Abraham Lincoln would have said, who declared on his way to the seat of Government, that he would not save the Union itself at the sacrifice of the Declaration of Independence.

All the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this Hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. * * * Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon this basis? If it can, I shall consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it can not be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country can not be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.

Then, after adding that he had not expected to say a word, he repeated the consecration of his life, exclaiming—

I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.

When you raise the flag over the Philippine Islands as an emblem of dominion and acquisition you take it down from Independence Hall.

Let me read from Lincoln once more. In his great Lewiston speech of August, 1858, he read aloud the

preamble of the Declaration of Independence, and added this:

This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the universe. This was their lofty and wise and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to his creatures. Yes, gentlemen, to all his creatures, to the whole great family of man. * * * They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the furthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man should thereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the principles on which the temple of liberty was being built. Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting * * * with the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions, * * * let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution.

Louis Napoleon, at the opening of the session of the French Assembly, March 2, 1854, made this declaration:

Besides, and I love to proclaim it loudly, the time of conquest is past, never to return, for it is not by extending the boundaries of its territory that a nation can henceforward be honored and powerful, but by placing itself at the head of generous ideas and spreading everywhere the empire of right and justice.

Napoleon forgot what he had said when he grew a little stronger. He saw his opportunity in Mexico, as our friends think they see ours in the Philippine Islands. But the sure and terrible feet of Destiny overtook him in the midst of his pride and power.

There's one hath swifter feet than crime;
Cannon parliaments settle naught.
Minie is good, but, spite of change,
Gutenberg's gun hath the longest range.

Spin, spin, Clotho, spin,
Lachesis twist and Atropos sever,
In the shadow, year out, year in,
The silent headsman waits forever.

Wait, we say, our years are long,
Men are weak, but man is strong.
Since the stars first curved their rings
We have looked on many things;

Great wars come and great wars go,
Wolf tracks light on polar snow,
We have seen him come and gone—
This second-hand Napoleon.

Spin, spin, Clotho, spin,
Lachesis twist and Atropos sever,
In the shadow, year out, year in,
The silent headsman waits forever.

Our commissioners come back from Paris bringing with them the cast-off clothing of this pinchbeck Napoleon, and ask us, who have seen his fate, to discard for it the spotless robes in which our fathers arrayed the beautiful genius of America.

A year ago last December, the President of the United States sent a message to Congress. In that message he said:

I speak not of forcible annexation, because that is not to be thought of, and under our code of morality that would be criminal aggression.

"The time of conquest is past," said Louis Napoleon. President McKinley repeated Louis Napoleon, though in louder and clearer voice. "The time of conquest is past," said the French Emperor. "It is not by extending the boundaries of its territory that a nation can henceforward be honored and powerful, but by placing itself at the head of generous ideas and spreading everywhere the empire of right and justice."

President McKinley, when he spoke, was not thinking even of honor or of power, inspiring and alluring as are honor and power. He placed himself and placed the American people on the stern, enduring, and perpetual rock of righteousness; that forcible annexation is not to be thought of, under our code of morality; that would be criminal aggression.

Who shall haul him down? Who shall haul down the code? Who shall haul down the President?

That rock is like the rock of the Word—

Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken; and on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.

There are other things found in this Declaration. In enumerating the wrongs inflicted upon this people by George III., the Declaration says that he "refused to pass laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only." And now my honorable friend says that the same men who set their hands to that Declaration, and pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor to its support, proceeded twelve years after to establish a government, on which they conferred the power exercised by George III. to destroy the right of representation in the legislature, to govern a people without it, and to forever extinguish and trample out that inestimable right, formidable to tyrants only. And not only that, but he is about, as I understand him, to proceed to vote to do it.

Further, our fathers in their terrible arraignment and indictment of the King for using these sovereign powers, which the Senator now claims belong to and are to be used by the President and Congress of the United States, says that the King had "made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries;" and yet he proposes to make judges for twelve million people dependent on the will of the President only for their tenure of office, and on the will of Congress alone for the amount and payment of their salaries.

Further, they said that King George had "kept among us in times of peace standing armies" and "quartered large bodies of armed troops among us without the consent of our legislatures." I suppose somewhere in this Capitol men are at work to-day in

devising ways and means for a permanent standing army to be kept in these islands, east and west, without the consent of anybody there.

They said King George had combined with others to subject us to jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and not acknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury; for altering fundamentally the forms of our government; for declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

The Declaration of Independence declares that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of the ends therein stated it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Charles Sumner affirmed repeatedly, and the people of Massachusetts supported him in that affirmation, what at last the whole Republican party, and I had thought till within the last six months the whole country, had come to believe, that the Declaration of Independence is co-equal with the Constitution, the one being a grant of power and the other a sovereign rule of interpretation.

Charles Sumner says:

> The words that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed are sacred words, full of life-giving energy. Not simply national independence was here proclaimed, but also the primal rights of all mankind. Then and there appeared the angel of human liberation, speaking and acting at once with heaven-born strength, breaking bolts, unloosing bonds, and opening prison doors; always ranging on its mighty errand, wherever there are any, no matter of what country or race, who struggle for rights denied; now cheering Garibaldi at Naples, as it had cheered Washington in the snows of Valley Forge, and especially visiting all who are down-

trodden, whispering that there is none so poor as to be without rights which every man is bound to respect, none so degraded as to be beneath its beneficent reach, none so lofty as to be above its restraining power; while before it despotism and oligarchy fall on their faces, like the image of Dagon, and the people everywhere begin to govern themselves. Such is the popular sovereignty proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Sumner says:

These words in the Declaration of Independence were not uttered in vain. Do you suppose them idle? Do you suppose them mere phrase or generality? No such thing. They are living words, by which this country is solemnly bound, and from which it can never escape until they are fulfilled. Your statutes can not contain any limitation which inflicts an indignity upon any portion of the human family. Only in this way can you have peace.

You would not do this thing if you were bound not to do it by treaty, and yet a great authority on public law has declared that treaties that are in violation of human rights are but rags. Can you do it against the solemn inhibition of the great charter of our principles, to the observance of which not only the national faith is bound, but with which the national conscience and honor are inextricably interwoven?

The Declaration of Independence is the twofold promise, first, that all are equal in rights, and secondly, that just government stands only on the consent of the governed, being the two great political commandments on which hang all laws and constitutions. Keep these truly, and you will keep all. Write them in your statutes; write them in your hearts. This is the great and only final settlement of all existing questions. To this sublime consecration of the Republic let us aspire.

There is another single sentence of Charles Sumner's smiting flat in the face the expansion notion of sovereignty of the Senator from Connecticut. Mr. Sumner says:

But the great Declaration, not content with announcing certain rights as unalienable, and therefore beyond the control of any government, still further restrains the sovereignty, which it asserts by simply declaring that the United States have "full power to do all acts and things which independent states may of right do." Here is a well-defined limitation upon the popular sovereignty. The dogma of Tory lawyers and pamphleteers—put forward to sustain the claim of parliamentary omnipotence, and vehemently espoused by Dr. Johnson in his "Taxation no Tyranny"—was openly, that sovereignty is in its nature illimitable, precisely as it is now loosely professed by Mr. Douglas for his handful of squatters. But this dogma is distinctly discarded in the Declaration, and it is frankly proclaimed that all sovereignty is subordinate to the rule of right. Mark, now, the difference. All existing governments at that time, even the local governments of the colonies, stood on power without limitation. Here was a new government, which, taking its place among the nations, announced that it stood only on right, and claimed no sovereignty

inconsistent with right. Such, again, is the popular sovereignty of the Declaration of Independence.

I quote also from John Quincy Adams' Fourth of July oration at Newburyport, 1837. I wonder if the Senator from Connecticut thinks John Quincy Adams lacked faith in the Declaration of Independence when he denied this new doctrine.

Mr. Adams says:

The sovereign authority conferred upon the people of the colonies by the Declaration of Independence could not dispense them, nor any individual citizen of them, from the fulfillment of their moral obligations. The people who assumed their equal and separate station among the powers of the earth, by the laws of nature's God, by that very act acknowledged themselves bound to the observance of those laws, and could neither exercise nor confer any power inconsistent with them.

Then, alluding to the self-imposed restraints upon the sovereignty which was established, he said:

The Declaration acknowledged the rule of right paramount to the power of independent states itself, and virtually disclaimed all power to do wrong. This was a novelty in the moral philosophy of nations, and it is the essential point of difference between the system of government announced in the Declaration of Independence and those systems which had until then prevailed among men. * * * It was an experiment upon the heart of man. All the legislators of the human race until that day had laid the foundations of all government among men in power; and hence it was that in the maxims of theory, as well as in the practice of nations, sovereignty was held to be unlimited and illimitable. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed another law, * * * a law of right, binding upon nations as well as individuals, upon sovereigns as well as upon subjects. * * * In assuming the attributes of sovereign power, the colonists appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, and neither claimed nor conferred authority to do anything but for right.

George Bancroft says of it:

This immortal state paper, which for its composer was the aurora of enduring fame, was "the genuine effusion of the soul of the country at that time," the revelation of its mind, when, in its youth, its enthusiasm, its sublime confronting of danger, it rose to the highest creative powers of which man is capable. The bill of rights which it promulgates is of rights that are older than human institutions, and spring from the eternal justice that is anterior to the State.

I commend this passage to some of our worthy clergymen who are of late preaching from their pulpits the new commandment to do evil that good may come.

Thackeray, no mean judge of noble art, no mean judge of noble actions, was one day crossing the ro-

tunda of this Capitol in company with Charles Sumner. He stopped before the picture where the genius of the great artist of Connecticut has delineated on the imperishable canvas the scene when the Declaration of Independence was presented by Jefferson to the solemn sitting over which Hancock presided, and the new nation, born on the 19th of April, 1775, was baptized in the faith of our new gospel of liberty. He stood for a moment silent, and then said to Mr. Sumner, "That's your painter."

Surely he was right. The foremost action of human history is fitly represented by the great work which we fondly hope is to be as enduring as time, enduring as the republic, enduring as liberty. It is there, in the foremost place of honor which can be found on this earth. No Parthenon, no Saint Peter's, no Palace of the Escurial, no Sans Souci, not Westminster Abbey itself can equal, at least to our eyes, this spot where forever a great and free people declares its constitutional will.

Beneath the great dome to which the pilgrim from afar first repairs when he visits the capital of his country, hangs the great picture which delineates the scene when the nation was first baptized into immortal life. It was not only the independence of America which was then declared—it was the dignity of human nature itself.

When Samuel Rogers visited the Dominican convent at Padua, an aged friar showed him the famous picture of The Last Supper in the refectory of the convent. He said:

> I have sat at my meals before it for seven and forty years, and such are the changes that have taken place among us—so many have come and gone in that time—that when I look upon the company there, upon those who are sitting at that table, silent as they are, I am sometimes inclined to think that we not they are the shadows.

As Administrations, terms of Presidential office,

begin and end, as Senators and Representatives come and go before the silent figures in that immortal picture, it seems to me that we are but the shadows, while Hancock and Jefferson and Adams and Franklin and Ellsworth and Livingston are still deliberating, still acting, still alive. Shall we turn it with its face to the wall? Shall the scroll first be stricken from the hand of Jefferson and another put there which shall read:

"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed—some of them. Men are created equal—some of them. Taxation and representation go together—for us, not for other men. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are held in the Philippine Islands at our will, and not at the will of the people."

And then shall we turn the picture with its face to the wall, and put instead of it a representation of some great battle where the guns of our Navy and our Army are turned on the men struggling for their liberty at Iloilo?

Our friends tell us that all this is emotion and rhetoric and sentiment. They tell us that it does not belong to the domain of practical statesmanship, or the conduct of the affairs of life; that these are the things we think when we talk, and that we are thinking of quite other things when we act and vote.

Well, the doctrines I stand upon are the doctrines of the most practical statesmen, of the most practical generation that ever lived on the face of the earth. These sentiments, wrapped in a few sentences, not equaling in compass the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer, amplifying only a little the Golden Rule itself, have turned out to be a practical force in this world of ours. The Puritans took them for

STREET IN NATIVE QUARTER, MALOLOS.

NATIVE CHILDREN, SANTA CRUZ.

their rule, and in one brief, crowded century they made England, which had been trembling before Spain, whose knees had smote together before Holland, whose monarch had been the pensioner and whose treasury had been the tributary of France, the greatest power the world had ever seen. It is these that make "world-powers."

Our fathers shod their feet with them as with sandals. Borne up by them, they crossed the Atlantic, and, with their invincible might, builded on its sure foundations this temple that covers the continent and whose portals are upon both the seas. Is there any practical statesmanship, is there any cunning of the politician, is there any struggling for power, is there any seeking for office, is there any party discipline which has ever wrought in all history such things as these half-dozen little sentences have wrought. Are there any statesmen in American history, among the living or among the dead, whom the people love and honor as they do the men who planted their feet on these truths, and who bore witness to them in life and in death?

These doctrines were affirmed in all the State constitutions of that time and have been reaffirmed in many State constitutions since. Every State official takes his oath to support them before he can enter upon the humblest office.

Connecticut declares in her constitution of 1776 that—

> the fruition of such liberties and privileges as humanity, civility, and civilization call for is due to every man in his place without impeachment and infringement, and that the denial thereof is the disturbance, if not the ruin, of churches and commonwealths.

She reaffirms and amplifies this declaration in 1818.

Maryland in the same year reaffirmed the great doctrines of the Declaration.

Massachusetts in 1780 repeats and reaffirms the

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great truths of the Declaration as the foundation of her own Commonwealth.

Virginia preceded the Declaration itself by her bill of rights adopted June 12, 1776, about three weeks before the Declaration. The two great state papers were framed by the same hand.

In 1830 Virginia declared that—

> that declaration of rights, the basis and foundation of government required, in the opinion of this convention, no amendment, and should be prefixed to the constitution of that year and have the same relation thereto as it had to the former constitution of this Commonwealth.

The one great lesson which sums up the teachings of American history during our century of constitutional life is the dignity of labor. It is an unquestionable truth that no tropical colony was ever settled, by men not born in tropical climes, for the purpose of finding work. There was scarcely ever a tropical colony successful at all. There was never a tropical colony successful except under the system of contract labor. That is to be set up, enforced, and administered by the agencies of the Republic of the United States, if we are to succeed in such administration at all.

Our fathers taught us the priceless value of national credit, and to keep free from the burden of national debt. We have thought until lately that our strength came in a large part from our unsullied and unequaled public credit. If we were compelled in self-defense to enter into a contest with the strongest or richest power on earth, our credit would remain unimpaired until our opponent was bankrupt. If in time of war or public danger we were compelled to contract debt, we have supposed that the only policy of dealing with it in time of peace was to pay it.

But now the Senator from Connecticut seems to contemplate that we shall embark on a permanent system of national expenditure which will put this

nation under an obligation the equivalent of which will be a national debt greater than that of any other nation on the face of the earth. Have you reflected that a permanent increase of our expenditures of one hundred and fifty millions a year—which we can not avoid, and from which we can not withdraw—is precisely the same thing as adding to our national debt five thousand million dollars, capitalized at 3 per cent, which is more than the Government is now paying, and that a permanent increase in our expenditures of three hudred millions a year is the same as increasing our national debt ten thousand millions, capitalized at 3 per cent? I think it can be easily demonstrated that the policies on which we are asked to embark involve a permanent national expenditure much larger than the amounts I have named. Our civil list, already so enormous, must be enormously increased. Instead of taking from the people by fair competition, or even by fair selection, men to take their share in self-government, we must have in the future, as they have in England, a trained class whose lives are to be spent, not in self-government, but in the government of other men.

At the close of the nineteenth century the American Republic, after its example in abolishing slavery has spread through the world, is asked by the Senator from Connecticut to adopt a doctrine of constitutional expansion on the principle that it is right to conquer, buy, and subject a whole nation if we happen to deem it for their good—for their good as we conceive it, and not as they conceive it.

I do not agree that the lesson of our first hundred years is that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are a failure, and that America is to begin the twentieth century where Spain began the sixteenth.

The Monroe doctrine is gone. Every European nation, every European alliance, has the right to acquire dominion in this hemisphere when we acquire it in the other. The Senator's doctrine put anywhere in practice will make of our beloved country a cheap-jack country, raking after the cart for the leavings of European tyranny.

It may be that in some storm and tempest of popular delusion, a cloud may for the moment cover the great truths of our Declaration. I have within the compass of my own life encountered such a storm and tempest more than once. In 1850, after the passage of the compromise measure, the great contest for the freedom of the vast territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific seemed hopelessly lost. Senate and people, courts and State legislatures seemed all bowing in assent to the overthrow of the great principles of the Declaration. But after a few short years the cloud and storm passed by, and the eternal constellation shone out unmoved and unshaken in its glory in the sky.

I remember when the great political party swept over the North, electing in my own State every member of the legislature but two, every member of Congress, every member of the State government, based on the doctrine of denying the application of these truths to citizens of foreign birth. But again the delusion passed by, and the eternal truths shone out. I have seen like movements of popular error and delusion in more recent years. So far God has given me strength to withstand them in my humble fashion. But they were overthrown and brought to naught not by any human strength, but because the eternal providence of God is on the side of freedom.

Our fathers dreaded a standing army; but the Senator's doctrine, put in practice anywhere, now or hereafter, renders necessary a standing army, to be reenforced by a powerful navy. Our fathers denounced the subjection of any people whose judges were appointed or whose salaries were paid by a foreign power; but the Senator's doctrine requires us to send to a foreign people judges, not of their own selection, appointed and paid by us. The Senator's doctrine, whenever it shall be put in practice, will entail upon us a national debt larger than any now existing on the face of the earth, larger than any ever known in history.

Our fathers dreaded the national taxgatherer; but the doctrine of the Senator from Connecticut, if it be adopted, is sure to make our national tax-gatherer the most familiar visitant to every American home.

Our fathers respected above all the dignity of labor and rights of human nature. The one thing created by God a little lower than the angels was a man. And they meant to send abroad the American flag bearing upon its folds, invisible perhaps to the bodily eye, but visible to the spiritual discernment, the legend of the dignity of pure manhood. That legend, that charter, that fundamental truth, is written in the opening sentences of the great Declaration, and now the Senator from Connecticut would repeal them. He would repeal the great charter of our covenant. No longer, as the flag floats over distant seas, shall it bear on its folds to the downtrodden and oppressed among men the glad tidings that there is at least one spot where that beautiful dream is a living reality. The poor Malay, the poor African, the downtrodden workman of Europe, will exclaim, as he reads this new doctrine: "Good God! Is there not one place left on earth

where in right of my manhood I can stand up and be a man?" Will you disregard every lesson of experience? No tropical colony was ever yet successfully administered without a system of contract labor strictly administered and enforced by the Government. I will not speak of the thirteenth amendment. In our parliamentary practice amendments fall with the original bill. This amendment will fall with the original Constitution.

This spasm of folly and delusion also, in my judgment, will surely pass by. Whether it pass by or no, I thank God I have done my duty, and that I have adhered to the great doctrines of righteousness and freedom, which I learned from my fathers, and in whose service my life has been spent.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PASSING OF CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRAINTS.

BY HON. STEPHEN M. WHITE,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA.

The extracts which I present are announcements of the Supreme Court of the United States and include declarations from the President of the United States and from the distinguished naval commander whose victory at Manila has made him an historical character.

This grant (the power to lay and collect taxes, etc.) is general without limitation as to place. It consequently extends to all places over which the Government extends.—(Loughborough vs. Blake, per Marshall, C. J., 5 Wheat., 323.)

There is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the Federal Government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on the United States or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure. * * * It (the new acquisition) is required to become a State and not to be held as a colony by Congress with absolute authority.—(Dred Scott vs. Sandford, per Taney, C. J., 19 How., 393.)

This decision has never been reconsidered in the Supreme Court of the United States.—(Justice Miller's Lectures, page 406.)

Manifestly the nationality of the inhabitants of territory acquired by conquest or cession becomes that of the government under whose dominion they passed, subject to the right of election on their part to retain their former nationality by removal or otherwise as may be provided.—(Boyd vs. Nebraska, per Fuller, C. J., 143 U. S., 186.)

That the provisions of the Constitution of the United States relating to the right of trial by jury in suits at common law apply to the Territories of the United States is no longer an open question.—(Thompson vs. Utah, per Harlan, J., 170 U. S., 346; Callan vs. Wilson, 127 U. S., 551.)

I speak not of forcible annexation, for that can not be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression.—(President McKinley, messages, December, 1897, and April 11, 1898.)

The United States disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island (Cuba) except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.—(Joint resolution, Congressional Record, Fifty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 31, part 4, page 3393.)

In a telegram sent to the Department on June 23, I expressed the opinion that "these people (the Filipinos) are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races." Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion.—(Admiral Dewey to Secretary of Navy, August 29, 1898; Senate Document No. 62, part 1, Fifty-fifth Congress, third session.)

That flag has been planted in two hemispheres, and there it remains, the symbol of liberty and law, of peace and progress. Who will withdraw from the people over whom it floats its protecting folds? Will the people of the South help to haul it down?—(President McKinley, address at Atlanta, Ga., December 16, 1898.)

The mission of the United States (to the Philippine Islands) is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule.—(President McKinley to the Secretary of War, December 21, 1898.)

I do not intend to elaborately discuss the question of law heretofore debated. I do not believe that it will serve any useful purpose to enter into an attempted differentiation between the authority of the United States in its relation to foreign powers and its authority as regards domestic affairs. I dispute the contention which seeks to give jurisdiction in the one case and to deny it in the other, and which limits the operation of the Constitution as to the rights of Territories and new acquisitions to Congressional discretion, denying to those within such area "the equal protection" of our laws and reducing their constitutional rights to the insignificant and problematical protection of colonial dependencies.

It appears to me that when our Constitution was made it was supposed that the United States would never extend its domain save over those who were not only within the equal protection of its laws, but who were competent to participate in the efforts of an aspiring people to conserve for themselves and humanity the benefits of representative civilization. Whatever may be the truth as to the issue of power, I design to discuss this subject more largely from the standpoint of policy.

It is conceded by all that the latter proposition is open for debate. Those who are regardless of organic restraints so admit. I do not desire to detain the Senate with any elaboration regarding the opinions of our courts or the views of eminent lawyers with reference to the subject of the construction of the Constitution

on expansion problems. It is certain that we can never agree as to that proposition. The sentiments of Senators of uncommon ability, the carefully expressed ideas of men of profound learning in this country and elsewhere, as expressed in the public prints, demonstrate the futility of any endeavor to procure accord upon this topic.

We are to-day confronted by a situation which all must admit does not agree in all respects, if it does not differ in principle with that which has heretofore been presented.

It will be conceded, I take it, that while we may have the authority to annex territory, as contended by the most advanced advocates of annexation, and to the ultimate extent for which they plead. Notwithstanding all this, the propriety of the exercise of such power must depend upon circumstances; and the fact of the possession of the authority furnishes no reason for any assertion not warranted by right.

Hence, finally, speaking from the standpoint of policy, we must ask ourselves this question: Shall we bring the Philippine Islands within our confines? Shall we introduce them to this home of intelligence and manly effort? Shall we acquire these islands under the conditions now confronting us? Is it better for us that we should do so? This is the issue. I shall endeavor to impress upon the Senate the fact that "charity begins at home," that while we may owe much without, there never has been a time when the mission of this Republic based upon solid principles, involved the necessity of embarking in the instantaneous civilization of foreign peoples or in converting into its own confines the seeds of dissolution. If we or the Filipinos must suffer I vote for our own benefit.

We know but little of the true inwardness of the Philippine Islands. No one seems to be thoroughly advised as to the exact character of all of the inhabitants of that territory. We are unable even to say how many islands there are which come within this attempted cession. We can not define the area so far as it is fit for cultivation, civilization, or for any other legitimate end. But in the midst of this ambiguity we at least know that the Philippines are tenanted by a very peculiar mass, a heterogeneous compound of inefficient oriental humanity. I care not, for the purposes of my argument, whether these islanders are fit for free government as you and as I understand it. If they are so fitted, they should be permitted to establish a free government; if they are not so fitted, they should not be brought into an alliance with us; we do not in that event want them. Those who are incompetent to control themselves should not be of us. We do not seek the irresponsible.

I have examined with some care the record which was made before the Peace Commission of which you were an honored and efficient member, and I fail there to find anything altering or affecting my view as regards the treaty.

In the first place, it is evident that the Philippine people suffered under the dominion of the parent country. I do not doubt that. It is clear that gross exactions in the way of taxation and illegitimate imposts were levied upon them; that personal indignities and cruelties were inflicted. I am ready to concede that the same record contains recitations of some abominable transactions on the part of the insurgents. I might refer to the statement of a witness before the Paris arbitration tribunal, who deposed as follows:

This witness said that a certain priest of bad char-

acter was sent to the province of Cavite. He described his treatment thus:

> And there the rebels caught him in this last rebellion, and more to ridicule him than anything else, I think, they made him their bishop. They said, "Mind what you do. You can be our bishop and take charge of our clergy, but don't you attempt anything behind our backs." He thought he was quite safe, and he was found taking sketches and notes of their strongholds. He had already made arrangements with the monks for their delivery. They caught him and they said it was treachery—he had made negotiations with the Augustine monks in Manila—and after proper trial he was condemned to death. He was tied to a post, without a hat and without water, and died of sunstroke fever, and hunger, and that was his end.

The character of the Filipino is in controversy. As I have said, my argument does not depend upon an accurate exhibition of his real traits. The reason already given in this regard is sufficient. If he knows enough to govern himself, we should let him alone. If he does not know enough, we do not desire to associate with him.

We have in this record the testimony of Consul Wildman as to the character of Aguinaldo. In a letter, from which I will in a moment quote, he extols that chieftain. Later on, in Senate Document No. 62, part 1, present session, we find that he questions the sincerity of Aguinaldo and intimates most strongly that he has outgrown his usefulness. I quote from page 336 of the above cited document:

> I have lived among the Malays of the Straits Settlements and have been an honored guest of the different sultanates. I have watched their system of government and have admired their intelligence, and I rank them high among the semi-civilized nations of the earth. The natives of the Philippine Islands belong to the Malay race; and while there are very few pure Malays among their leaders, I think their stock has rather been improved than debased by admixture. I consider the forty or fifty Philippine leaders with whose fortunes I have been very closely connected both the superiors of the Malays and the Cubans. Aguinaldo, Agoncillo and Sandico are all men who would all be leaders in their separate departments in any country, while among the wealthy Manila men who live in Hongkong and who are spending their money liberally for the overthrow of the Spaniards and the annexation to the United States men like the Cortes family and the Basa family would hold their own among bankers and lawyers anywhere.

Again he says:

> There has been a systematic attempt to blacken the name of Aguinaldo and his cabinet on account of the questionable terms of

their surrender to Spanish forces a year ago this month. It has been said that they sold their country for gold; but this has been conclusively disproved, not only by their own statements but by the speech of the late Governor-General Rivera in the Spanish Senate June 11, 1898. He said that Aguinaldo undertook to submit if the Spanish Government would give a certain sum to the widows and orphans of the insurgents. He then admits that only a tenth part of this sum was ever given to Aguinaldo and that the other promises made he did not find it expedient to keep.

Further on he remarks:

The insurgents are fighting for freedom from the Spanish rule and rely upon the well-known sense of justice that controls all the actions of our Government as to their future. (Id., page 337.)

This consul, and also Mr. Williams, who afterwards incurred the displeasure of the State Department, and seemingly in response to criticisms made as to his conduct, questioned the attitude of Aguinaldo and his colleagues, appear to have been excessively anxious to retain their positions, and this may account for the want of lucidity in their correspondence, taken as a whole. Yet I must confess that I arise from a perusal of this record believing that there are a number of able men among the Filipinos, persons who are adequately educated to attend to the more complex affairs of life, but that the vast mass of the inhabitants are, and will for many years remain, in a condition far below that which every well-informed American believes to be essential to citizenship and even to presence within our borders. I do not mean by this that no local government can be established, but I do mean that no governmental institution on as high a plane as ours will be maintained for many years in that region.

But such government will never be an accomplished fact unless opportunity is given. Whatever may be asserted in enthusiastic moments, I do not hesitate to say that it is not the mission or place of the American people to assume responsibility for such a population or to educate, otherwise than by example, and certainly not under the influence of the sword, the pro-

testing occupants of tropical climes. I deny our duty to civilize such an aggregation. Clearly alien races who, as far as history has furnished evidence, have not been found fitted for the highest civilization, ought not to be introduced here, as they are not competent to participate intelligently and profitably in the affairs of this Government.

Upon another occasion I had an opportunity to examine, and I attempted to explain, why it was and is that a remote nation or people of habits varying from ours in almost every direction can not be a valuable acquisition, and can not constitute a desirable addition to the American Republic.

Assume that we import an alien and novel people numbering 10,000,000. Whether they are to be citizens or are not to be such—dropping that branch of the inquiry—they are at least brought within the United States. We are responsible for them to the world, and they are to some extent supposed to be responsible to us. What advantage can they be to this Republic? Can they furnish us anything that will tend to make us more stable, more civilized, more enlightened? Clearly not. Do we offer them a government of their choice? Do they petition us asking that we receive them? Do they seek for themselves and their posterity the benefits of our civilization? No; they repudiate our attempt to govern them; they demand that they shall be permitted to pursue their own way; they insist they should be allowed to solve domestic and governmental issues for themselves, and that they ought to be allowed to at least experiment as to whether they are or are not competent to sustain a government adapted to their wants. They even intimate that we are to join in international land grabbing, and that the Spanish war was for conquest—not for humanity's sake.

Ought we to allow the Filipino an opportunity? If we say that he is not fitted to govern himself, by what process of reasoning can we reach the conclusion that therefore, and on that account, we ought to absorb him, especially when we announce in advance that we are not acquiring possessions for the purpose of dominion or statehood?

It is clear to me that in the evolution of those affairs which surround this matter a clearly defined policy has eventuated looking to permanent retention and colonial government. It is the intention and the object and the aim of the present administration and those who are supporting this project to annex these islands for all time. Title is sought. The treaty speaks of relinquishment as to Cuba, but uses the word cession as regards the Philippines. Will Senators adopt the resolution offered by the Senator from Georgia? No. If there is no desire to lastingly hold this group, can there be any objection to the adoption of that resolution?

But what do we find outside of this? I have already referred to the remarks of the President of the United States delivered, not in his message only, for in his message he refers to forcible annexation as a crime and denounces it as an offense against public morality as defined by us, but on a public occasion he again referred to the Filipinos and spoke of the flag that had been planted in that hemisphere. He said:

> There it remains the symbol of liberty and law, of peace and progress. Who will withdraw from the people over whom it floats its protecting folds? Will the people of the South elect to haul it down?

And in the letter to the Secretary of War, to which I have also adverted, the President declared that our policy toward those islands is that of "benevolent assimilation." What is meant by "benevolent assimila-

tion?" Who shall define that? The word "assimilation" implies absorption, taking in. True, the President guarantees us that he will not assimilate those people violently. There will no doubt be something of an anæsthetic character with reference to that assimilation.

For my own part, I am opposed to the entire design, but upon any theory whatever, upon any theory which anyone, outside of a very few Senators, is willing to father in this chamber, it follows that it is our duty, if we have the slightest regard for our position before the world, to indicate in advance what we intend to do.

Now, let me ask any Senator on the other side of the proposition whether at the time the Senator from Colorado offered an amendment to the Cuban resolutions, which has already been read, in which it was said by this body and by the Congress—

> That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

—there was any admission that we were waging a war of conquest? No one had the boldness to make such a declaration.

For what purpose did the United States embark in the war? It is well known here that the many difficulties which we now meet were anticipated by some of us, but no one supposed that we would ever attempt to absorb islands on the Asiatic coast, and compel them into actual close communion with us permanently. Had an amendment to that resolution been offered providing that all possible acquisitions should be brought within its scope and its letter, there would have been no opposition.

Remembering that Admiral Dewey says, from per-

sonal contact with the Filipinos and the Cubans, that the former are better fitted for independent government than the latter, are we not honestly bound by the spirit of our declaration to give an independent government to not only the Cuban people, but likewise to the Filipinos, and we refuse to declare that the same rule which we applied to Cuba will be applied in the case under consideration.

While I repeat that I do not believe either or any of these races are really fitted for companionship with us, yet, under the peculiar circumstances of this situation, I am willing to apply to the Philippine Islands the same rule that we have already declared we design to enforce in Cuba. Whether we apply that rule or not depends upon our good faith, and it is to be presumed that we will be loyal to our pledges, although we know that we will have opposition of a mercenary character. There is no danger in such a course. The Filipinos solicit it; the world will be satisfied; all possible obligations will be fulfilled.

I affirm again that the policy can not be to treat the Philippine Islands as we treat Cuba, or else Senators would not object to voting for a resolution of that purport.

Is there anything so alluring in the Philippine Islands, even of a business character, that we should be willing to throw aside our traditions, to disregard the teachings of our consciences, and to set aside every declaration which statesmen of national repute have ever made? Is there anything, I repeat, alluring in a business way?

Permit me to say that I do not give undue weight to purely commercial considerations. When I believe that we can not morally or in accord with our duty incorporate the Philippines, the affair is at an end. But I appreciate that in some quarters a different con-

Stephen M. White

ception prevails. Boards of trade and chambers of commerce in various localities look forward to and with glowing words portray the riches which they seem to think will drop into our laps. Thus was the siren voice raised in the case of Hawaii, and yet it is demonstrable to-day, as some of us said it would be demonstrated, that the local sugar growers alone made fortunes from annexation. Then we were told that numerous laborers would go to Hawaii and find a long-sought opportunity for the development of their interests, and yet we have ascertained from experience that these anticipations were not realized and that there is no opening for such immigration.

That acquisition was only valuable to the few and only dangerous as I thought, in the way of a precedent. However this may be, that is history; and the only excuse for our action is that it was not of a character sufficiently important to make it vital. But here we travel thousands of miles farther, and instead of having 100,000 people to deal with, we have 8,000,000 or 10,000,000, more obviously incompetent and more difficult to control.

When you seek to acquire property, do you not look to the title and right of your grantor? Do you not ascertain what power he had, what jurisdiction he enjoyed, and what possession he enjoys? If he had nothing standing on the records, he must have had possession indicating his entry and justifying his pretensions. If we cause peace and order to prevail in the Philippines, it will be the result of conquest, not of Spain, but of those whom Spain never subdued.

There are half of these islands which have never been under the control of Spain. What must we do with them? If we ratify this treaty and pass laws under it, we have no alternative but to invade and by power subject them. We can not, as a great nation,

stand aside and permit unchallenged rebellion. If we ratify the treaty, we must show the nations of the world that we have not only the technical right, but also the physical strength, to enforce our mandates; and hence it follows irresistibly that we must send our arms abroad and bring the Mohammedans and others into subjection.

What kind of an enterprise is this to be? What will it cost, not in money, but in life? When we commenced the Spanish war, we did not, I am persuaded, anticipate such a possibility. There would have been more hesitation had we done so. Will we be able, we who live and constitute the "land of the free and home of the brave," to justify ourselves to ourselves if we assume the responsibility of a war in the Tropics in such a cause?

Is this new possession untenanted and barren? Are the islands uninhabited? On pages 404 and 405 of the document already named will be found a statement by General Greene, an officer who seemed to be very well advised. He informs us that, taking the islands of Luzon, Panay, Cebu, Leyte, Bohol, and Negros, the average population per square mile is 91; that of the island of Cebu is 210, and of the island of Luzon 79.

He remarks:

> The density of population in these six islands is nearly 50 per cent greater than in Illinois and Indiana (census of 1890), greater than in Spain, about one-half as great as in France, and one-third as great as in Japan and China.

Then he gives the exact figures. He also furnishes information regarding Mindanao, Samar, Mindoro, Romblon, and Masbate, where he finds a population per square mile of 11. The leading islands of the group, those which are accessible, have a population greater per square mile than Spain itself, and a population greater per square mile than the great States of Illinois and Indiana.

What is to be gained by the contemplated policy? If mere trade is the object, there is no difficulty in providing for it with any government which may be established. But I fail to see from statistical examination anything to justify us in assuming that the profits attending annexation and depending upon it will nearly atone for the enormous expenditure and extravagant outlay which must prove essential. Furthermore, some years ago in the Congress of the United States there was a positive and aggressive agitation as to the Chinese question, arising from the protest of the people of our Pacific coast. They came before Congress and urged restrictive legislation, and that legislation was enacted, and we excluded Chinese laborers from our shores. We kept them out, although they sought to come in occasional shiploads only. Here it is proposed to bring in an entire population, possessing to a large degree the same competitive character, containing millions and millions of people—no one can give the precise number. It is well enough to pretend that constitutional guaranties may be disregarded and that our newly annexed friends may be limited to a certain part of the United States. God forbid that we shall ever have a nation so divided against itself that we will not permit those who reside in one part to visit elsewhere. No such attempted rule, I trust, will ever find its place, notwithstanding the agitations of any moment, upon the statute books of the American Republic.

Without entering into any extended discussion of the subject, I am very clear that every child born anywhere within the United States, whether you define it internationally or nationally or otherwise, is a citizen of the United States.

This must be true under the decision rendered by

the Supreme Court in United States vs. Wong Kim Ark (169 U. S., 649).

There it was decided that a child born in the United States of Chinese parents who, at the time of his birth, are subjects of the Emperor of China, but have a domicile in the United States and are not employed in any diplomatic or official capacity under the Emperor of China, becomes at the time of his birth a citizen of the United States by virtue of the first clause of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.

It will be noted that the power granted to Congress by the Constitution is "to establish an uniform rule of naturalization." It is not easy to discover, even if we bring the Filipino within our fold, how we can have "an uniform rule of naturalization" without including the offspring of those who inhabit the islands from Mindanao to Luzon.

The Senator from Louisiana has contributed an able argument regarding the citizen status of the Filipinos in case of annexation.

As was well said by ex-Senator Edmunds:

> A republic can have no subjects. Its people must be either citizens, slaves, or aliens.

True, we may prevent the inhabitants of the Philippines from voting for President or members of Congress and from otherwise availing themselves of some other benefits which they may theoretically enjoy by leaving the group in a Territorial condition. Nevertheless, this will not affect the rule announced by the Supreme Court of the United States in Boyd vs. Nebraska, already mentioned. It was there remarked:

> Mr. Justice Story, in his Commentaries on the Constitution, says: "Every citizen of a State is ipso facto a citizen of the United States,"

and this is the rule expressed by Mr. Rawle in his work on the Constitution. Mr. Justice Curtis, in Dred Scott vs. Sandford, 60 U. S., 19 How., 393, 576, expressed the opinion that under the Constitution of the United States "every free person born on the soil of a State, who is a citizen of that State by force of its constitution or laws, is also a citizen of the United States." And Mr. Justice Swayne, in Slaughterhouse Cases, 83 U. S., 16 Wall., 36, 126, declared that "a citizen of a State is ipso facto a citizen of the United States."

I do not believe that a man who is a citizen when in one part of the United States can be anything less, no matter where he goes.

As I understand it, it was the design and the intention of the framers of our organic law that the burdens resulting from revenue taxation, that the fiscal obligations which we must endure because of the necessity of maintaining the Government, must be distributed uniformly over the entire United States; and until there is a decision from a more authoritative tribunal than can be found in any convention or university, I must beg leave to stand to that view.

It is said that after all we owe an obligation of an ill-defined nature to somebody with reference to the Philippines which makes it necessary to absorb them. To whom do we owe such obligation? Do we owe it to the people there? If so, surely they have a right to waive it. If we are to assimilate them because of an obligation under which we rest to them, they must be allowed to discharge us. Annexation, absorption, or assimilation they do not desire.

We stand in a singular position before the world, and those of us who are opposed to the new dispensation and policy are blamed in some quarters. It is said we complicate matters by delay. But we delay nothing. We decline to subscribe to a policy which we think means dishonor. A part of our Army, on board ship, looks upon an island tenanted by people who have been struggling for years, whether they are white or black, poor, good or bad, to establish their own government. We are armed, exchanging glaring

glances. They hardly know what to do. It is said to us, "Ratify the treaty." Suppose we proceed to give to this Administration power outside of the mere military authority now being exercised; what then will be the result? If the natives resist, what will we do? Will we shoot them? If wo do not need them, must we take them? Is it our obligation to be unjust or cruel?

I believe that so far as the world at large respecting humanity is concerned we will do more for our own age and for times that are yet to be if we so act as to demonstrate that we are worthy of the great heritage to which we have succeeded. We will, indeed, hold a proud position if we prove that we differ from other nations whose accumulated powers were used for evil, whose rulers, in the midst of the splendors of transitory triumph, assailed the liberties of their fellows. We owe no obligation of that kind. No such crime can we be asked to commit.

We hear much of our destiny, our manifest destiny. What "manifest destiny" can require any man or set of men or any nation to do that which should not be done? Are we destined for turpitude? What is that manifest destiny? Is it to conquer the world? Evidently many so think. Not long ago it was frequently said upon this floor, "wherever the flag is raised there let it float forever." This proposition was so absurd and the statement was so ridiculed here and elsewhere that a distinguished Senator of expansion tendencies informed me recently that the expression was only a figure of speech.

Yet this very phrase has been alluded to as the maxim upon which expansionists rest. Wherever the American flag has been raised, whether rightly or wrongly, whether or not circumstances make it advisable for us to take it down, there it must continue

to wave; that while under it we might conquer, yet we can not without impropriety relieve it from a position where it can not remain but as the symbol and evidence of oppression. That view, I believe, has been abandoned, and we are now told, as I have stated, that the former argument was nothing more than "a figure of speech." Upon many of these "figures" do the arguments of our adversaries rest.

Our trade, we are advised, requires us to go abroad sword in hand, regardless of principle. Let us investigate. From the most selfish standpoint we ought to adhere to our present policy and leave foreign entanglements for our competitors. I do not care, for the sake of this argument, whether the commercial greatness of the United States is due to Republican so-called protection, or to Democratic ideas, or to the natural abilities and the manufacturing and commercial impulses of the race. To whatever it may be due, we enjoy commercial superiority, and under our present system we have acquired this enviable position. We have won it honestly, by patient, intelligent effort. We have obtained it as the result of the splendid standard of efficiency of our labor—the highest in the world—by compensating our toilers most liberally, by availing ourselves of improved methods, by utilizing our resources, and by invading the marts of the world and taking from other nations in the peaceful struggles of the day, not by force, but by brain and brawn, those great advantages which the records of our Treasury Department show are ours.

Without running at all into elaborate figures, I will refer the Senate to the imports and exports of merchandise for the twelve months, in each case commencing in January and ending in December, for the years 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, and 1898. But I will show in this connection here and now this fact

only, that while in 1893 our exports exceeded our imports a little less than $100,000,000—ninety-nine million dollars and odd—in 1894 they rose to $148,000,000, in 1895 dropped down to $23,000,000, in 1896 rose to $324,000,000, in 1897 to $357,000,000, and in 1898 we exported $621,000,000 more than we imported.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE FOR THE YEARS 1893 TO 1898.

Twelve months ending December—	Imports.	Exports.	Excess of exports.
1893	$776,248,924	$876,148,781	$99,899,857
1894	676,312,941	825,102,248	148,789,307
1895	801,669,347	824,860,136	23,190,789
1896	681,579,556	1,005,837,241	324,257,685
1897	742,595,229	1,099,709,045	357,113,816
1898	633,664,634	1,254,925,169	621,260,535

Why is all this? Take our consular reports, Senators, and examine them, especially those issued during the last few years, and you will find that American enterprise and American ingenuity are compelling attention everywhere. You will find evidences to this effect in the heart of enterprising Germany, in the center of enlightened England, in the midst of cultivated France. You encounter such manifestations everywhere, and day by day, hour by hour, as our people are better understood and their skill and the merits of their goods more accurately estimated, and as we become more careful regarding our consuls and the retention of those who know something about their business, our trade expands.

We appropriate by these civilized methods the profits heretofore enjoyed by other countries. We are drawing these vast benefits to our pockets. We are becoming great. No little area is ours. Our domain is mighty. This is not a nation to be held in the hollow of even the imperialistic hand. With a population less than one-fourth per square mile of that of the islands of the Philippine group which I first

enumerated, with vast territory yet untouched, with boundless resources, susceptible of utilization and destined for our benefit and for that of our posterity—with all of these great advantages, this glorious prospect, this magnificent possibility, at our own doors, under our immediate civilization—should we not hesitate before forming new alliances?

Witness our territorial greatness. Think what we may do when our population is several times its present number. Look at the victories of peace which may be ours, the contests in the courts of honor which we may win, the contributions to civilization which we may furnish! Are not these more worthy prizes than the spoils of war? Our schools and our churches rise in every township, in every spot where mankind throng. In the paths of mining, agriculture, and manufacture, in the domain of science and art mark our success and observe the boundless field. When our future can thus be rationally anticipated, when we are actually about to possess the choicest blessings of the earth, our conquests won without blood and producing treasure—victories gained honestly, the rewards of intelligence, brought forth under the vivifying and electrifying stimulation of free government—when we have thus succeeded in promoting our Republic to its proud and, in a sense, truly imperial position, we are told that we must follow that delusive stranger, "our destiny," and must depart from our tried and incomparably successful policy—thus adopting that which is destructive to others in preference to that which makes us really great.

Talk about the obligation that we owe to the Philippines, to England, to France, to China, or to any nation or state or set of nations in the world. Do we not owe more to ourselves? Are not those who are near and dear to us—ought not our country to be

dearer to us than any momentary triumph or the flitting shouts of the battlefield? Are we to relinquish the substantial and change our century-sanctified plans in a night because our Navy has been victorious, our Army militant in a contest far from equal? Because we fought a war wherein we lost in actual battle (eliminating subsequent sickness and wounded fatalities) 280 men, must we raise great armies and aver "no power can defeat us?" I know that the sword must sometimes be drawn and that many issues are thus solved, and solved well. But the lessons of time admonish us that all combats to the death are irrational. Civilization occasionally springs from the gory field, but I do not wisn my nation to participate in any effort that will result in aught but the building up and strengthening of her claim to be the ideal republic—living to spread virtue and freedom by the mild processes of truth and reason.

Who invites us to these new fields of conquest? The nations with whom we have been contending in this peaceful and soon to be determinative struggle; the nations whose manufacturing we are taking away; the nations whose resources are yielding to the policy of this emancipated Government. They seek to allure us, and they display before us the alleged choice blessings, as they call them, of "benevolent assimilation." India is selected as a typical case. In the dull and ambitionless abode of the Hindoo is found convincing proof of crushed manhood. England, the nation with whom we so lately disputed concerning the Monroe doctrine, is now our mentor and example. Why this sudden change? Is it rational? I want none of this. I know it is not always popular to seek to restrain the impetuous march of those who see or think they see glory ahead, but I believe it is the duty

of men situated as we are to look upon this grave situation calmly and considerately.

I read an article in a newspaper recently to the effect that our Government has agreed to a treaty or compact with Spain, and that the United States can not afford to recede; that Senators who are not expansionists are not cast in patriotic mold. Such impudence does not frighten me from duty. Has it come to this that a treaty, when signed by the Executive, is thereafter the supreme law of the land, or is it still well to obtain the concurrence of the Senate of the United States, and is there any less responsibility upon the Senate in connection with the treaty than there is upon the President?

May this body advise and consent when the Constitution so ordains? When this annexation experiment shall have been tried, if tried it must be, and when its issue for weal or woe has passed into a demonstration, will not this body share and must it not share equally with the Executive in whatever may have transpired? Was it not thought by the men who conceived the Constitution that the Senate of the United States might occasionally contribute an idea in addition to those of Executive discovery, however able, honest, and intelligent the Executive might be?

We are bound to examine this for ourselves. We can not rest upon any examination by anybody else. No one has a higher regard for the ability of the three members of this body who went abroad on this treaty mission than have I. This treaty is to a large extent their work, and we are in the presence, therefore, of men who understand more about it than we do. This, however, can have no influence upon us, except in so far as reasons may be furnished and arguments adduced controlling our judgment and discretion.

We must satisfy ourselves, I repeat, and that we

will do so I have no reason to doubt. This is not assumption, it is the performance of a duty. Whatever may be the personal effect of blending Executive and Senatorial functions in a treaty commissioner, the organic laws can not thus be altered.

Will anyone tell me that a great standing army is advisable in a republic? What is the inevitable and necessary consequence of the carrying out of this modern doctrine of expansion? It will not rest its influence upon the Philippines only. When we place our giant foot upon those islands, we will seek new scenes for aggression and conquest and will consider that it is our duty to encircle the earth.

What is the limit of the expansionist? Where does he stop? It is hinted that our more progressive legislators and citizens hope to participate in the partition of China. Whenever there is to be an "absorption," which is a modern expression for international robbery, the advocates of the new idea wish to be present. The old days, when upon the Fourth of July and other festivities the school-boy talked about the outrages involved in the partition of Poland, will not come again. The custom of reading Washington's Farewell Address here will soon be abandoned if this fallacious doctrine obtains. The sarcastic irrelevancy of that great announcement will be apparent to the most unlettered and expansive mind.

We have bills for the increase of our Navy, and I am in favor of a fine naval establishment—sufficient to guard our interests thoroughly, but not to engage in conquest. We are informed that these expenditures will aggregate millions, and yet we have only commenced. Oh, you can not in a moment lead a free people from the pathway of virtue which from the teachings of their mothers' knee they learned to tread.

The allurements and deceptions from which nations

and individuals alike suffer do not ordinarily mean the immediate avoidance of honor. The gradual moving away from the old road finally results in its abandonment. The way of truth is left untrodden. Upon it grow weeds and thistles. Its identity is now and then pointed out by someone who lingers on the scene—a lone worshiper yet at liberty's shrine.

It is an army of a hundred thousand men, or 60,000 men now. It will be 120,000 in a short time. And why not? This vast host will be necessary. Nay, several times more. I do not speak of this enormous augmentation of our military as any act of oppression upon the part of those who recommend it, or upon the part of those who may vote the appropriations, but I speak of it, sir, as the inevitable and necessary consequence of the adoption of a policy which recognizes the arbitrament of the sword and the settlement of disputes not in peace, but in war. We are preparing for not merely a war, but for wars.

Then will come a time when the military will dominate the land and when the Republic will endure only in story and in song.

How long would it have been necessary to combat such a policy had it been advocated but a little time ago? Is it not singular that as matters proceed we become more and more acclimated, as it were, to this situation; we more readily yield up and sacrifice really precious things and join the majority in saying that after all the Constitution is of no great force, and that if, as a distinguished military man has lately said, it is not in accordance with our new demands and developments, we can get something else? And so we can; we may abandon the basic principles of this Government. We (I speak of the people) have the power to do so. The nations have so acted in many an age. Can we not, too, be foolish? I have

considered it less important to discuss the actual words of the Constitution than to combat this destructive tendency.

What does this enormous armed display mean? We familiarize the people with the presence of war. We look at Article III of the amendments of the Constitution and we wonder why, after all, there was so much said about the quartering of troops. Of whom were the fathers afraid? They feared the armies, whose business was not of peace. They knew much of the arrogance of soldiery. They appreciated the impossibility of preserving liberty in the face of mighty standing armies. They knew that the honest civilian must yield, and they searched history in vain to learn that there was any compatibility between a standing army and free institutions.

And hence, if there is one thing that we have all learned, Democrats, Republicans, and Populists alike, it is that, save in a great public exigency, we ought not to have among us, and upon us, and of us, large bodies of armed men. And yet we are bringing about a condition which will necessitate this calamity. We are creating, by this annexation program, the very condition which we concede and have always conceded to be eminently disastrous.

Consider the state of a people who are pursuing peace, who are not familiar with war, but who are ready to instantly spring to arms to defend their rights and honor, and to preserve their nation from injustice—consider such a people abandoning the tenets of civilization and adopting the business of carnage. Are we ready to call this progress?

Because I consider this particular subject of a great deal of importance—that while I am opposed, for reasons which I have stated, to the entire scheme, while my objections are so absolutely basic that I have

no idea that the proposition will ever receive my vote in any of its forms, nevertheless, if it be true, as contended by the Senator from Colorado and no doubt believed by him, that we intend to treat the people of the Philippine Islands as we intend to treat the people of Cuba, let us make a record which hereafter will not be evidence against the insistence of that intent.

For instance, we have declared our intention regarding Cuba. It is proposed by the resolution offered by the Senator from Georgia that we shall declare our intention regarding the Philippines. If we do not do that, it will be considered that that proposition has been answered in the negative.

Then the treaty itself declares that while the title to Cuba is relinquished, that to the Philippines is ceded. I imagine that before accepting title to anything, before we consider it as a relinquishment or a cession, it is better to know our actual desires. When the cession is completed, the grant absolutely made, the power entirely exercised, and this resolution tabled or laid aside or forgotten for the time being, then the question must be, how will we get rid of our investment? It is better to deliberate now upon the disposition of this territory that future complications may be avoided. The cession is not yet complete. The Senate must act first.

I am unwilling to leave this resolution to be passed on hereafter, for I know it will be in the hands of some, whom I am personally aware are antagonistic to anything save permanent retention. They will prevent its consideration at all, and I therefore insist that if it is in good faith intended to treat Cuba and the Philippines alike, let the record so show.

I do not see either that the mere reference in the ninth article of the pending treaty to the native inhabitants of the territories and the provision that Con-

gress shall determine the citizen status interferes with my position. On the contrary, this recital presupposes that Congress will legislate with reference to these acquisitions as though the cession were perfect.

I have attempted briefly to give some of the reasons which appear to me controlling against the making of this treaty. I have not dwelt upon the threatened abandonment of the Monroe doctrine, nor have I shown, as I might, the difficulties of colonial government in the tropics by any government. I find no embarrassment in solving the situation, bad as it is, upon lines heretofore indicated. Spain and all other nations can be warned off and a local government can be established. I see no want of dignity upon the part of the United States in insisting that as far as the Philippine Islands are concerned they shall be treated as Cuba is treated. If it be said that we have our commissioners, I answer that we should act under our constitutional authority and to the best of our ability. That this does not imply discredit, but only implies regardfulness of duty.

These questions, I take it, must be determined from some other standpoint than that of individual preference. Those of us who believe that a new, untried, and dangerous policy is about to be inaugurated can not find any answer in the assertion that we have appropriated other and more congenial territory, areas fitted for civilization and easy of access and free from a dangerous and permanently nonassimilative population. Never before did we seek a distant sea and an Oriental land, tenanted by millions who are not of us and who deny our authority. I am not attracted by the colonial experiences of the world.

Spain herself believed in expansion. Imperialism brought her down.

In these days when military power and splendor

engross so much attention, at this time when all over the world are repeated the stories of American valor, now when the youth turns with aspiring eye toward the gratification of his ambition to the tented field, when the soldier and the sailor rejoice in their great accomplishments, it is well for us to look back—to reflect. The fathers of the Republic had studied the history of mankind. They read from the standpoint of threatened liberty. They deliberated from the vantage ground of disinterested honesty. They fought, too, in vindication of their opinions. Their life terms were not less than those of this generation.

Greater men have not been here. These statesmen were well aware that other nations had been free and that in the days of frugality and honesty they were happy and prosperous and soon became strong. They knew that republicanism in its purity must ever beget power and affluence and that nations as well as individuals are often seduced by the lavish offerings of ambition to attempt military despotism and to regard as ill suited the safe teachings of less flattering hours.

They were profoundly versed in the narrations which told of the rise and fall of people—the sacrifices of independence—the terrors of corruption and decay. Shall we not heed their admonitions? Are we too wise to regard them? Can we credit the promise that imperialism will benefit the cause of freedom? The world saw upon Helena's lonely rock the greatest soldier, perhaps, of all history. When his life's race had nearly run, he who too had believed himself a man of destiny, gazing upon the glistening sea which guarded his restless spirit, said, almost with his dying breath, that the world would never know what he had in store for man.

In the seven-hilled city more than once the tyrant with bloody sword uplifted claimed the blessings of

posterity. The glorious court of Fontainebleau was refulgent with a brightness which indicated the effort of power to conceal a condition which eventuated in a culmination which threatened the thrones of the Old World.

The United States will never be too prosperous or strong to adhere to constitutional restraints and to work out its mission with the aid of intelligent and honest men. It is in the hope that we may aid to preserve forever stainless in its purity and unconquerable in its integrity the Republic of our fathers that I register here my protest against what I conceive to be a disastrous innovation.

CHAPTER X.

IMPERIALISM—ITS DANGERS AND WRONGS.

BY MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

It is worse than folly, aye, it is a crime, to lull ourselves into the fancy that we shall escape the duties which we owe to our people by becoming a nation of conquerors, disregarding the lessons of nearly a century and a quarter of our national existence as an independent, progressive, humane and peace-loving nation. We cannot with safety to ourselves, or justice to others keep the workers and the lovers of reform and simple justice divided, or divert their attention, and thus render them powerless to expose abuses and remedy existing injustice.

A "foreign war as a cure for domestic discontent" has been the device of tyrants and false counselors from time immemorial, but it has always lead to a Waterloo, a Sedan, to certain decadence and often utter ruin. In our country we are perhaps too powerful to incur outside disaster; but we shall certainly court worse evils at home if we try to benumb the nation's sense of justice and love of right, and prevent it from striving earnestly to correct all proved errors.

If the Philippines are annexed what is to prevent the Chinese, the Negritos and the Malays coming to our country? How can we prevent the Chinese coolies from going to the Philippines and from there swarm into the United States and engulf our people and our

civilization? If these new islands are to become ours, it will be either under the form of Territories or States. Can we hope to close the flood-gates of immigration from the hordes of Chinese and the semi-savage races coming from what will then be part of our own country? Certainly, if we are to retain the principles of law enunciated from the foundation of our Government, no legislation of such a character can be expected.

In a country such as ours the conditions and opportunities of the wage-earners are profoundly affected by the view of the worth or dignity of men who earn their bread by the work of their hands. The progress and improvement in the condition of the wage-earners in the former slave States have been seriously obstructed by decades in which manual labor and slave labor were identical. The South now, with difficulty, respects labor, because labor is the condition of those who were formerly slaves, and this fact operates potentially against any effort to secure social justice by legislative action or organized movement of the workers. If these facts have operated so effectually to prevent necessary changes in the condition of our own people, how difficult will it be to quicken our conscience so as to secure social and legislative relief for the semi-savage slave or contract laborers of the conquered islands?

If we attempt to force upon the natives of the Philippines our rule, and compel them to conform to our more or less rigid mold of government, how many lives shall we take? Of course, they will seem cheap, because they are poor laborers. They will be members of the majority in the Philippines, but they will be ruled and killed at the convenience of the very small minority there, backed up by our armed land and sea

Saml Gompers

forces. The dominant class in the islands will ease its conscience because the victims will be poor, ignoant and weak. When innocent men can be shot down on the public highway as they were in Lattimer, Pa., and Virden, Ill., men of our own flesh and blood, men who help to make this homogeneous nation great, because they dare ask for more humane conditions at the hands of the moneyed class of our country, how much more difficult will it be to arouse any sympathy, and secure relief for the poor semi-savages in the Philippines, much less indignation at any crime against their inherent and natural rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?

CHAPTER XI.

WHAT POLICY THE UNITED STATES SHOULD PURSUE.

BY CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

HIS VIEWS IN A LETTER TO HON. CARL SCHURZ.

Boston, December 21, 1898.

My Dear Mr. Schurz:

In a recent letter you kindly suggest that I submit to you a sketch of what I think should be said in an address such as it is proposed should now be put forth by the Anti-Imperialist League to the people of the United States.

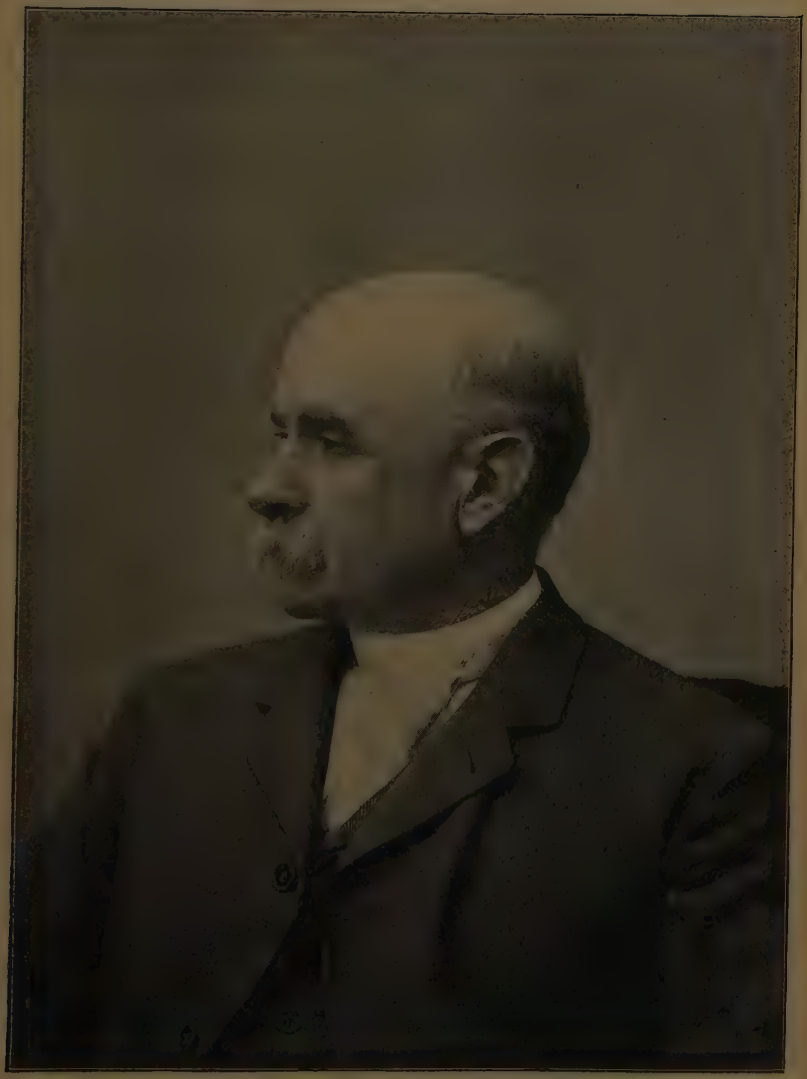
I last evening read a paper before the Lexington Historical Society, in which I discussed the question of extra-territorial expansion from the historical point of view. There is one aspect, and, to my mind, the all-important aspect of the question, which, in addressing an historical society, was not germane. I refer to the question of a practical policy to be pursued by us, as a nation, under existing conditions. That Spain has abandoned all claim of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands admits of no question. Whether the United States has accepted the sovereignty thus abandoned is still an open question; but this I do not regard as material. Nevertheless, we are confronted by a fact; and, whenever we criticise the policy up to this time pursued, we are met with an inquiry as to what we have to propose in place of it. We are invited to stop finding fault with others, and to suggest some feasible alternative policy ourselves.

To this we must, therefore, in fairness, address our-

selves. It is, in my judgment, useless to attempt to carry on the discussion merely in the negative form. As opponents of an inchoate policy we must, in place of what we object to, propose something positive, or we must abandon the field. Accepting the alternative, I now want to suggest a positive policy for the consideration of those who feel as we feel. I wish your judgment upon it.

There has, it seems to me, been a great deal of idle "Duty," "Mission," and "Call" talk on the subject of our recent acquisition of "Islands beyond the Sea," and the necessity of adopting some policy, commonly described as "Imperial," in dealing with them. This policy is, in the minds of most people who favor it, to be indirectly modeled on the policy heretofore so successfully pursued under somewhat similar conditions by Great Britain. It involves, as I tried to point out in the Lexington paper I have referred to, the abandonment or reversal of all the fundamental principles of our government since its origin, and of the foreign policy we have heretofore pursued. This, I submit, is absolutely unnecessary. Another and substitute policy, purely American, as contradistinguished from the European or British, known as "Imperial," policy, can readily be formulated.

This essentially American policy would be based both upon our cardinal political principles, and our recent foreign experiences. It is commonly argued that, having destroyed the existing government in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, we have assumed a political responsibility, and are under a moral obligation to provide another government in place of that which by our action has ceased to exist. What has been our course heretofore under similar circumstances? Precedents, I submit, at once suggest them-



Charles F. Adams

selves. Precedents, too, directly in point, and within your and my easy recollection.

I refer to the course pursued by us toward Mexico in the year 1848, and again in 1866; toward Hayti for seventy years back; and toward Venezuela as recently as three years ago. It is said that the inhabitants of the islands of the Antilles, and much more those of the Philippine archipelago, are as yet unfitted to maintain a government; and that they should be kept in a condition of "tutelage" until they are fitted so to do. It is further argued that a stable government is necessary, and that it is out of the question for us to permit a condition of chronic disturbance and scandalous unrest to exist so near our own borders as Cuba and Porto Rico. Yet how long, I would ask, did that condition exist in Mexico? And with what results? How long has it existed in Hayti? Has the government of Venezuela ever been "stable?" Have we found it necessary or thought it best to establish a governmental protectorate in any of those immediately adjacent regions?

What has been, historically, our policy—the American, as distinguished from the European and British policy—toward those communities,—two of them Spanish, one African? So far as foreign powers are concerned, we have laid down the principle of "Hands-off." So far as their own government was concerned, we insisted that the only way to learn to walk was to try to walk, and that the history of mankind did not show that nations placed under systems of "tutelage," —taught to lean for support on a superior power,— ever acquired the faculty of independent action.

Of this, with us, fundamental truth, the British race itself furnishes a very notable example. In the forty-fourth year of the Christian era the island of Great Britain was occupied by what the "Imperial" Romans

adjudged to be an inferior race. To the Romans the Britons unquestionably were inferior. Every child's history contains an account of the course then pursued by the superior toward that inferior race, and its results. The Romans occupied Great Britain, and they occupied it hard upon four centuries, holding the people in "tutelage," and protecting them against themselves, as well as against their enemies. With what result? So emasculated and incapable of self-government did the people of England become during their "tutelage" that, when Rome at last withdrew, they found themselves totally unfitted for self-government, much more for facing a foreign enemy. As the last, and best, historian of the English people tells us, the purely despotic system of the imperial government "by crushing all local independence, crushed all local vigor. Men forgot how to fight for their country when they forgot how to govern it."

The end was that, through six centuries more, England was overrun, first by those of one race, and then by those of another, until the Normans established themselves in it as conquerors; and then, and not until then, the deteriorating effect of a system of long continued "tutelage" ceased to be felt, and the islanders became by degrees the most energetic, virile, and self-sustaining of races. As nearly, therefore, as can be historically stated, it took eight centuries for the people of England to overcome the injurious influence of four centuries of just such a system as it is now proposed by us to inflict on the Philippines.† Hindostan

†The Roman legions were withdrawn from Great Britain in 410; Magna Charta was signed in June, 1215, and the reign of French Kings over England came to a close in 1217. It is a striking illustration of the deliberation with which natural processes work themselves out, that the period which elapsed between the withdrawal of Rome from England, and the recovery of England by the English, should have exceeded by more than a century the time which has as yet elapsed since England was thus recovered.

would furnish another highly suggestive example of the educational effects of "tutelage," on a race. After a century and a half of that British "tutelage" what progress has India made toward fitness for self-government? Is the end in sight?

From the historical point of view, it is instructive to note the exactly different results reached through the truly American policy we have pursued in the not dissimilar cases of Hayti and Mexico. While Hayti, it is true, has failed to make great progress in one century, it has made quite as much progress as England made during any equal period immediately after Rome withdrew from it. And that degree of slowness in growth, which with equanimity has been endured by us in Hayti, could certainly be endured by us in islands on the coast of Asia. It cannot be gainsaid that, through our insisting on the policy of non-interference ourselves, and of non-interference by European nations, Hayti has been brought into a position where it is on the high road to better things in future. That has been the result of the prescriptive American policy. With Mexico, the case is far stronger. We all know that in 1848, after our war of spoliation, we had to bolster up a semblance of a government for Mexico, with which to negotiate a treaty of peace. Mexico at that time was reduced by us to a condition of utter anarchy. Under the theory now gaining in vogue, it would then have been our plain duty to make of Mexico an extra-territorial dependency, and protect it against itself. We wisely took a different course. Like other Spanish communities in America, Mexico then passed through a succession of revolutions, from which it became apparent the people were not in a fit condition for self-government. Nevertheless, sternly insisting on non-interference by outside powers, we ourselves wisely

left that country to work out its own salvation in its own way.

In 1862, when the United States was involved in the War of the Rebellion, the Europeans took advantage of the situation to invade Mexico, and to establish there a "stable government." They undertook to protect that people against themselves, and to erect for them a species of protectorate, such as we now propose for the Philippines. As soon as our war was over, we insisted upon the withdrawal of Europe from Mexico. What followed is matter of recent history. It is unnecessary to recall it. We did not reduce Mexico into a condition of "tutelage," or establish over it a "protectorate" of our own. We, on the contrary, insisted that it should stand on its own legs; and, by so doing, learn to stand firmly on them, just as a child learns to walk, by being compelled to try to walk, not by being kept everlastingly in "leading strings." This was the American, as contradistinguished from the European policy; and Mexico today walks firmly.

Finally take the case of Venezuela in 1895. I believe I am not mistaken when I say that, during the twenty-five preceding years, Venezuela had undergone almost as many revolutions. It certainly had not enjoyed a stable government. Through disputes over questions of boundary, Great Britain proposed to confer that indisputable blessing upon a considerable region. We interfered under a most questionable extension of the Monroe Doctrine, and asserted the principle of "Hands-off." Having done this,—having in so far perpetuated what we now call the scandal of anarchy,—we did not establish "tutelage," or a protectorate, ourselves. We wisely left Venezuela to work out its destiny in its own way, and in the fullness of time. That policy was far-seeing, beneficent,

and strictly American in 1895. Why, then, make almost indecent haste to abandon it in 1898?

Instead, therefore, of finding our precedents in the experience of England, or that of any other European power, I would suggest that the true course for this country now to pursue is exactly the course we have heretofore pursued under similar conditions. Let us be true to our own traditions, and follow our own precedents. Having relieved the Spanish islands from the dominion of Spain, we should declare concerning them a policy of "Hands-off," both on our own part and on the part of other powers. We should say that the independence of those islands is morally guaranteed by us as a consequence of the treaty of Paris, and then leave them just as we have left Hayti, and just as we left Mexico and Venezuela, to adopt for themselves such form of government as the people thereof are ripe for. In the cases of Mexico and Venezuela, and in the case of Hayti, we have not found it necessary to interfere ever or at all. It is not yet apparent why we should find it necessary to interfere with islands so much more remote from us than Hayti, and than Mexico and Venezuela, as are the Philippines.

In this matter we can thus well afford to be consistent, as well as logical. Our fundamental principles, those of the Declaration, the Constitution, and the Monroe Doctrine, have not yet been shown to be unsound—why should we be in such a hurry to abandon them? Our precedents are close at hand, and satisfactory—why look away from them to follow those of Great Britain? Why need we, all of a sudden, be so very English and so altogether French, even borrowing their nomenclature of "imperialism?" Why can not we, too, in the language of Burke, be content to set our feet "in the tracks of our fore-

fathers, where we can neither wander nor stumble?" The only difficulty in the way of our so doing seems to be that we are in such a desperate hurry; while natural influences and methods, though in the great end indisputably the wisest and best, always require time in which to work themselves out to their results. Wiser than the Almighty in our own conceit, we think to get there at once; the "there" in this case being everlasting "tutelage," as in India, instead of ultimate self-government, as in Mexico.

The policy heretofore pursued by us in such cases, —the policy of "Hands-off," and "Walk alone," is distinctly American; it is not European not even British. It recognizes the principles of our Declaration of Independence. It recognizes the truth that all just government exists by the consent of the governed. It recognizes the existence of the Monroe Doctrine. In a word, it recognizes every principle and precedent, whether natural or historical, which has from the beginning lain at the foundation of our American policy. We propose to guarantee them against outside meddling, and, above all, from "tutelage," and make them, by walking, learn to walk alone.

This, I submit, is not only an answer to the question so frequently put to us, but a positive policy following established precedents, and, what is more, purely American, as distinguished from a European or British, policy and precedents.

I remain, etc.,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

HON. CARL SCHURZ,
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CHAPTER XII.

LARGE STANDING ARMIES A MENACE TO A REPUBLIC.

BY HON. ARTHUR P. GORMAN,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MARYLAND.

I have not consumed much of the time of the Senate in the discussion of the pending resolutions. I have had no intention of doing so, and would not now but for the occurrences of the last two days in this chamber. The remarks of the Senator from Nebraska, who addressed the Senate this morning, in connection with the remarks made by the Senator from Colorado seem to make it necessary that I should say one word before we shall have entered upon the real consideration of the treaty in secret session.

It has grown to be an unfortunate custom that the newspaper criticisms of public men find ready conduits in this body, so that their utterances may be recorded here upon our records. No matter how severe the criticism, how unjust the comment, it seems that at times they are to find their way into this body and to be repeated by honorable members of the Senate.

My attitude upon this treaty was well defined in a public utterance before the treaty was negotiated so far as it refers to the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. My opinion upon that question was known and freely expressed by me to one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty before he left this country for Paris. I have had no cause to change the opinions then expressed publicly and privately. They were opinions formed after mature deliberation; opinions that I be-

lieved were in the best interests of my country; opinions to be maintained by me, no matter what the influence may be upon the other side.

In my course in public life Presidents of the United States and their cabinets have had no terrors for me. I have opposed them when they were of my own political faith, when I believed that the measures presented were too extreme and would put in jeopardy the business interests of the American people. I oppose this treaty in the form in which it comes to us, and under which we are to acquire the sovereignty of the Philippine Archipelago, filled with people who never can assimilate with us, because I believe its adoption and the acquisition of the territory would be more disastrous to my country than any other measure which has come before the Congress of the United States or the Senate of the United States from the formation of the Government to this hour.

The Senator from Colorado, in his carefully prepared speech, as I take it, after having described the conditions attending the consideration of the treaty, said:

> Bar England, there is not a country in Europe that is not hostile to us. During all this war they stood in sullen hate, hoping for our defeat and that disaster might come to us; and to-day they wait with eager and rapacious gaze, hoping that some event may yet prevent our reaping the fruits of the treaty which has been agreed upon by the commissioners of the two countries. Yet, while this critical condition of affairs exists, it has become evident within the last few days that certain political leaders in this chamber believe that a new issue should be brought before the American people to be determined at the next Presidential election. They intend that the American people shall be called upon to pass on the questions arising out of the war, and that this shall be the issue of the next campaign.
>
> For one, I believe that issue a fair one, and I am ready, as all good citizens ought to be, to meet the views of the whole American people upon the question of the conduct of the war, of its achievements, and of the policy this country should pursue at its close. But it is deplorable that in formulating such an issue and in pursuit of such a policy those leaders should find it necessary to seek to dishonor this Government and the administration which has guided us so wisely through the troubled sea of international complications and brought us to the threshold of an honorable peace; that they should seek to degrade us in the face of the nations of the world; and that they should attempt to bring about some fancied political advantage by an effort to defeat the ratification of a treaty which, if unratified, must bring back a condition of war as it existed before the report of the commissioners, passive it may be, but full of uncertainty and full of disaster to the interests and the welfare of our country.

A. P. Thomas

I suppose that a fair judgment and a charitable judgment would enable me to say that the Senator from Colorado alone, of all the Senators in this body, is the only one capable of such an utterance when we are considering such a great question.

Aspirations of public men amount to but little. That the political desire for preferment of any man would control his vote upon this treaty is inconceivable to me, and he who entertains such an idea is on a very low plane in the consideration of a measure so grave.

I believe in parties. I believe in my party, because I believe that the interests of the people will be best served in the end by its promotion to power and its control of governmental affairs. I adhered to it when some of its doctrines were very far from meeting with my approval, because I have believed that in the main the interests of the country would be better subserved through it.

Away beyond office, away beyond personal desire of promotion of any sort, stands the great question we are facing. On yesterday, Sunday, the cable flashed the news that because of the attitude of the American Republic in their determination, in their effort, in their threat to take possession of a people who did not desire to become a part of the nation the blood of American citizens had flowed. Those natives, fighting for their liberty as they understand it, made an attack upon the American army.

Who believes for a moment that if there was a provision in the pending treaty like the one relating to Cuba that our occupation would be only temporary, that it is only intended to aid them to form a better government to control their own affairs, that there would have been a single life lost? They would have submitted as Gomez has submitted, and turned their army as allies and supporters of the American flag,

which would, under that condition, give them liberty and freedom.

I believe that if the pending treaty is ratified and we obtain a cession of the sovereignty of those islands, it will be only the beginning of a war that will cost us hundreds, yes, thousands, of lives of our splendid specimens of intelligent young manhood and millions and millions of money, and that when we shall have, as we will, driven them at the point of the bayonet to submit to the authority of the American nation, with all the accompanying destruction of property and lives, the whole archipelago will then be a pest to the American Union. I believe that it will open the door for a flow from the Chinese Empire and from the islands themselves of a host of men, untold in numbers, who will not assimilate with, but will tend to degrade, the American people.

Do you remember—I do—that it was but ten years ago that this great American nation, with all its power, when two great political parties were lining up in the Presidential battle of 1888, was compelled by the working people, the men who are engaged in trades, the men who are engaged in labor, to abrogate a treaty with China which permitted the Chinese to come in? Only a few hundred thousand had come in on the Pacific coast, yet the feeling against them was so intense that both political parties were forced to declare against their further entry. I think it the most remarkable chapter in the history of the country and the only instance of the abrogation of a treaty by statute. While we were negotiating with China, a friendly nation, with which we were at peace, for a modification of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Seward in 1868, both parties were absolutely driven, so powerful was the feeling of the laboring people of the country to pass an act of Congress which abrogated the treaty without

giving the friendly nation an opportunity for consideration.

We made that restriction and destroyed our trade with China. They submitted to it as no other nation on the earth would have submitted to it. Our trade, however, melted away until it has run down to almost nothing as compared with that of Great Britain, France and Germany. And now ten years after that act we propose to take islands that are in front of the China Sea. No nation on earth can guard them. No power is strong enough to prevent the Chinese from going over and obtaining a lodgment; and then it is a stepping-stone by which they will come to the United States, because when the islands are annexed the inhabitants become American citizens. You can not keep the Chinese out to-day with all the police power of the Government. You can not prevent their entry from Canada and from Mexico. It will not, in my judgment, be four years, if this treaty is ratified, before the American people will act as they did in 1888. I am not an alarmist, nor have I a desire to throw out a suggestion of disorder, but, judging from the past, our people will resent it.

I assume it is believed by the authors of this measure that the people will resent it; and hence you propose to provide for it by increasing the Army to be kept at home a hundred thousand men, at a cost of $100,000,000 a year, not alone to take care of our affairs in those distant islands, but as a police force to help to control the American people.

This is possibly the last time I may address the Senate upon this subject, and I now enter my solemn protest against it. I want to see this great Government march on for all time, as it has in the past, relying upon the good will and good sense of the American

people to support and protect their Government without the aid of armies.

I fear armies at home. I witnessed the great struggle of the war between the States which closed in 1865. Since its close I have seen a great army used in part to control the sovereign States of the Union. I also witnessed the patriotic and manly efforts of the great captain of our armies, General Grant, and of that fearless volunteer soldier, Gen. John A. Logan, of Illinois, and of Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, both members of the House, who raised their voices, as all statesmen had done in the past, and favored the reduction of the Army to 30,000 men, when their own country, one-third of it, was in a state of unrest. I want to follow in their lead—a lead which makes it impossible to govern the American people by bayonets.

The spectacle has just been presented of the President of the United States, kindly, manly, partisan as he has always been, in his tour through the Southern country, preaching good will and kindness to all who inhabit that section of our common land, giving them full credit for their patriotism in this war, as he ought to have done, and making the kindly suggestion that the time had passed when there should be any distinction between the care of the graves of the Confederate dead and those of the Union soldiers. His sentiments are noble and magnanimous. But when you couple with them his other insistence, both public and private, that we must have 100,000 soldiers and a navy as large as France or Germany, how can his suggestion—honestly made, I admit—to the Southern people that the Government take care of the graves of their ancestors be otherwise interpreted than also meaning, "You must give me 100,000 men to keep in order their descendants who are living?"

From the whole transaction I shrink; from the whole transaction, in the interest of the people of the American Union, as I see their interests, I protest; for, I repeat, I believe the absorption of the inhabitants of these islands would be more disastrous than the war from 1861 to 1865 so far as the material interests of the country are concerned. I think it would be more disastrous than the picture drawn by the Senator from Virginia of the great misfortune which came to us by the injection into our body politic of the slave, against the protest of Virginia, and because of which the whole land was deluged in blood and brother turned against brother.

To Virginia this country owes a debt of gratitude. From the days of Patrick Henry until the speech of the Senator from Virginia on my left, Virginia has always voiced the true American sentiment, which, if adhered to, will bring prosperity and glory to our common country.

CHAPTER XIII.

A NATION'S POWER.

BY HON. HENRY M. TELLER,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM COLORADO.

The power of acquisition of territory, as I said in June last when addressing the Senate, is a prerogative of nationality, and there is no provision of the Constitution that authorizes the Government of the United States to acquire either Cuba or Porto Rico except as it may be found in the power to declare and carry on war, and through the great prerogative of national sovereignty, a power that has never been denied to any nation in the history of the world, the power of acquisition.

I shall not attempt to go into a discussion of this question. I suppose the Senator from Missouri would say we are a nation, but that we are a nation with limited powers. The Supreme Court of the United States said, and it is an elementary principle, that a sovereign power can be limited only by its own act. If there is any limitation upon our power as a sovereign it must be found in the Constitution of the United States. We might have limited our power; we might have declared that we possessed not the power that other nations did. But we did not. The founders of the Republic did not mean to say that this great nation, then perhaps small, but in their expectation to be great, could not do as a nation what other nations did, or what other nations claimed the right to

do, and might find necessary to do in the interest of the people. The only restriction or limitation on the exercise of national prerogatives is with reference to our internal or domestic affairs. In that respect the United States is a nation of limited and defined powers, to be found in the Constitution.

The power of acquiring territory has been repeatedly declared by the Supreme Court to belong to us. We have exercised it. We have exercised it without special provisions of the Constitution. Jefferson doubted very much whether we had the power. The contemporaneous opinion of statesmen was against him. Occasionally one believed we had the power to take territory and not the power to admit it as a State. Such was the declaration of a number of statesmen at the time of the acquisition of Louisiana. It does not appear from what I can learn that Jefferson doubted our authority to make a State of territory if he was satisfied we had the power to acquire it. Whatever doubts there might have been then as to that, they were put at rest when we accepted the purchase of Louisiana and when we incorporated that territory into different States of the Union.

The Supreme Court of the United States have said in many opinions, and by the very best men who sat upon that bench, including Chief Justice Marshall, that our right to govern was unquestioned and unlimited and unrestricted by the Constitution of the United States. We may give to them just such a government as we think they deserve. We may give them a government in which they are allowed to participate, or we may deny to them any participation in the affairs of the government under which they live.

In volume 130, United States Reports, pages 603, 604, and 605, Judge Field said:

Jurisdiction over its own territory to that extent is an incident of every independent nation. It is a part of its independence. If it could not exclude aliens it would be to that extent subject to the control of another power. As said by this court in the case of The Exchange (7 Cranch, 116, 136), speaking by Chief Justice Marshall:

"The jurisdiction of the nation within its own territory is necessarily exclusive and absolute.

"It is susceptible of no limitation not imposed by itself. Any restriction upon it deriving validity from an external source would imply a diminution of its sovereignty to the extent of the restriction, and an investment of that sovereignty to the same extent in that power which could impose such restriction. All exceptions, therefore, to the full and complete power of a nation within its own territories must be traced up to the consent of the nation itself. They can flow from no other legitimate source.

"While under our Constitution and form of government the great mass of local matters is controlled by local authorities, the United States, in their relation to foreign countries and their subjects or citizens, are one nation invested with powers which belong to independent nations, the exercise of which can be invoked in the maintenance of its absolute independence and security throughout its entire territory."

In 6 Wheaton, pages 264 and 413, the court said:

That the United States form, for many and for most important purposes, a single nation has not yet been denied. In war we are one people. In making peace we are one people. In all commercial regulations we are one and the same people. In many other respects the American people are one; and the Government, which is alone capable of controlling and managing their interests in all these respects, is the Government of the Union. It is their Government, and in that character they have no other.

America has chosen to be in many respects, and to many purposes, a nation; and for all these purposes her Government is complete; to all these objects it is competent. The people have declared that in the exercise of all powers given for these objects it is supreme. It can, then, in effecting these objects, legitimately control all individuals or governments within the American territory. The constitution and laws of a State, so far as they are repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, are absolutely void. These States are constituent parts of the United States. They are members of one great empire—for some purposes sovereign, for some purposes subordinate.

Justice Matthews, in Murphy vs. Ramsey, 114 United States Reports, said:

The counsel for the appellants in argument seemed to question the constitutional power of Congress to pass the act of March 22, 1882, so far as it abridges the rights of electors in the Territory under previous laws. But that question is, we think, no longer open to discussion. It has passed beyond the state of controversy into final judgment. The people of the United States, as sovereign owners of the national Territories, have supreme power over them and their inhabitants.

Supreme power of the United States must exclude all other power.

Mr. Justice Bradley, in the opinion of the court in the case of Mormon Church vs. United States, 136 United States Reports, page 42, said:

The power to acquire territory, other than the territory northwest of the Ohio River (which belonged to the United States at the adoption of the Constitution), is derived from the treaty-making power and the power to declare and carry on war. The incidents of these powers are those of national sovereignty, and belong to all independent governments. The power to make acquisitions of territory by conquest, by treaty, and by cession is an incident of national sovereignty. The Territory of Louisiana, when acquired from France, and the Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, when acquired from Mexico, became the absolute property and domain of the United States, subject to such conditions as the Government, in its diplomatic negotiations, had seen fit to accept relating to the rights of the people then inhabiting those Territories. Having rightly acquired said Territories, the United States Government was the only one which could impose laws upon them, and its sovereignty over them was complete.

No State of the Union had any such right of sovereignty over them; no other country or government had any such right. These propositions are so elementary, and so necessarily follow from the condition of things arising upon the acquisition of new territory, that they need no argument to support them. They are self-evident. Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of the American Insurance Company vs. Canter (1 Pet., 511, 542), well said: "Perhaps the power of governing a Territory belonging to the United States which has not, by becoming a State, acquired the means of self-government, may result necessarily from the facts that it is not within the jurisdiction of any particular State and is within the power and jurisdiction of the United States. The right to govern may be the inevitable consequence of the right to acquire territory. Whichever may be the source whence the power is derived, the possession of it is unquestioned."

I will admit it is the moral duty and that there is an obligation upon the people of the United States in their legislation with reference to these countries to keep in mind the fundamental principle which underlies free government and without which free government can not exist, a principle so often quoted by the Senator from Missouri, and a principle that can not be too often quoted, "that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed."

I do not mean to say that we may not disregard that, and that we could not administer government in these new possessions of ours in violation of that principle, but that in accordance with the great fundamental principles that permeate and underlie republican institutions and dominate the mind of Republicans everywhere, we ought not to forget that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed, and it is our duty to secure to these people just such political rights and privileges as they

are entitled to under our system. That must be determined by their condition.

The doctrine that the consent of the governed is essential in a republican government has many exceptions. We do not in the United States, with all our boasted freedom, allow everybody to participate in the affairs of government. We exclude the alien, we exclude the ignorant and vicious, we exclude women and infants—rightfully, because the principle that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed has always been received everywhere with exceptions. There is no government in the world, and there never has been one, founded upon a strict observance of that declaration, and there can not be.

Why? Because the interests of the few must give way to the interests of the great mass; because it might be dangerous to the body politic to allow a certain class to participate in the affairs of the government. The disabilities that exist must be disabilities that render them unfit and unsuitable for the discharge of political duties, or else they ought not to be excluded. Such a rule must be applied to everybody subject to such disabilities. We can not allow one citizen with disabilities to participate and another with the same disabilities to be excluded.

One of the declarations of a free people is that there must be no taxation without representation, and yet every day in this country and in every other where this doctrine is recognized we see people paying taxes without representation. We see women paying taxes and infants paying taxes and foreigners paying taxes, and yet we do not understand that it is a violation of that fundamental principle, because everybody should recognize the exceptions.

Now, we are coming to deal with the greatest question, in my opinion, that the American people have dealt with since the contest of 1861. I have more confidence in the good sense of the American people than to believe we are about to adopt a policy in dealing with these countries that threatens the death of the Republic or even great danger to it.

In the first place, I believe to-day that we are hardly prepared to pass upon what ought to be the character of government that we establish over these countries.

I am not one of those who would turn these islands back to Spain; I am not one who would give them up to any other nation in the world; nor would I give them up to the people of those countries under present conditions. I believe we went into this war in the interest of human freedom, in the interest of good government; that we went into it as no other people in the history of the world ever went into a war. We have stood before the world presenting a spectacle and an example unheard of in history, ready to pour out our money and sacrifice life in the interest of those strangers.

We can not stop. We commenced this great work of humanity, and we are bound to carry it on until we have accomplished the great object for which we began. We can not do it by turning over to those people the government of these various countries, in my judgment, in the present disorganized condition of affairs there; but we ought to keep in view all the time that some day these people are to be self-reliant and self-governing, as we are, or they are to become a part and parcel of this Republic, entitled to all the rights and subject to all the duties of citizenship of States.

Which shall it be? As they are now, nobody wants

to take them into the body politic. Nobody wants to make Cuba or Porto Rico or the Philippines States of the Union. I do not believe any portion of the people of the United States are willing to say that these possessions shall be created States and admitted into the Union now. And yet, in the course of time, if they shall become fitted, they may become States and admitted into the Union.

As I look upon it, we have a great obligation resting upon us. We are on trial. Are we going to be able to handle this question safely for ourselves and safely for the people whose interests we started out to protect? I will admit that that is a difficult question, and if I should now outline at this moment my idea of what ought to be the policy of the Government it may be, and very likely will be, subject to change when we are better informed about those people. But there are some underlying principles which we must keep in view, and one of those is that we can not govern these colonies, these provinces, as England governs India; we may govern them as England governs Canada and her other English-speaking colonies. What shall be the policy must depend largely, in my judgment, upon the character of the people with whom we are to deal. I think in the island of Cuba, with a little assistance from the Government of the United States, there can be established a government of proper character to take care of all the local interests of that country.

I confess that I am not willing to see the people of Cuba to-day turned out to take care of themselves so far as international affairs are concerned. I should be afraid of interference by some foreign power with that new government. I think we should say to the world, and say it so that all could understand it: We

intend to give to those people, so far as it can be done, self-government; but we do not intend that they shall become the prey, either by conquest or by treaty, of any foreign power. In all their international relations I believe, for many years to come at least, the Government of the United States must speak to the world for Cuba.

It is not necessary that we invite every man in Cuba to participate in the government that we there establish. We have the right to see that they exclude from participation in that government such elements as we know would render the government unstable and unsafe, or else do it ourselves. If those people are able to maintain a government of the character I have mentioned without our assistance, which secures to the people all the blessings and averts all the evils which governments among men are instituted to secure and to avert, then we should let them do so in all their local affairs.

The statement that we can not have colonies, that we can not enter upon the imperialism of Europe, I believe is idle, for I do not think that any considerable number of the American people or any considerable number of men in public life propose to adopt the system which Great Britain adopted with reference to her early colonies, and which she abandoned more than a hundred years ago as to her English-speaking colonies after she had received a lesson in dealing with us. I do not think the American people will believe in holding these islands for the purpose of making money out of them, as the French are holding some portions of China and some portions of Africa.

The American people are not engaged in this effort for the 5 per cent or the 10 per cent or any other per cent that is coming to them. They are engaged in it

in the interest of good government; they believe that putting up and keeping up the flag of this country over our new possessions will do for those people what the English flag did for us when it brought to us English common law and English jurisprudence and English freedom. They believe the American flag is capable of giving to those people American law, American freedom, American progress, and enabling them to share in prosperity with us as well as in American glory.

There will be no harm done if the American flag floats there as an emblem of national power, keeping always in view that it is not to float over slaves or subjugated people; but every citizen of this great Republic may not be entitled to all the rights of the citizenship of a State and yet entitled to the benefit of these great principles—liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Keeping that in view, the American flag will be a blessing wherever it floats. It never has been a curse and it never will be a curse to any people, for there will be no colonial system under it such as England has applied to India. There will be no "imperialism" under it.

I have said repeatedly that I thought we ought not to deal with this question until we properly reach it, and I would have been willing to do that but for the repeated declarations of prominent men in public life that we who did not believe that the Government of the United States lacked the power to acquire territory, that we who did not believe that the American flag, having on it the insignia of government, should come down until we replaced it with something equally good, wanted to establish in these new possessions the colonial system of Europe, with all its

evils, with all its vices, with all its cruelty to the people to whom it is applied. We do not want that.

If you could poll the American people, you would not find 1 per cent of them who want to do that; and if you should take the vote now you would not find 1 per cent of them who believe it will not be better for these new possessions of ours that our flag shall float over them, not simply as the emblem of power, but as the emblem of good government, of protection to them, as it is protection to us.

Why can we not take this position before the world? It is in accordance with our declaration, solemnly made by the two Houses of Congress, with the approval of the President, that this was not a war of conquest. When we had conquered the Philippines, and when we might have properly demanded of Spain indemnity, we turned around and we gave to Spain $20,000,000. Why? I do not know. But I assume that we gave it to her as we gave $15,000,000 to Mexico when we conquered her territory and when she lay bleeding at our feet, when we might have taken every foot of that country and made it ours, in accordance with international law; and we should have done it if we had been ruled and moved by the spirit which actuates most nations of the world.

We said to her, prostrate as she was, "We want some of your territory, and we are willing to pay for it; we will give you $15,000,000." And we gave it. We held that territory, first, by conquest and, then, by purchase; and such a purchase had never before been made in the history of national acquirements, unless it was in the case of the Louisiana purchase, which made it possible that the last Mexican purchase should be accomplished.

What has it brought to us? Wealth untold, an em-

H. M. Teller

pire in extent. We took it with clean hands. No matter what might have been said or might have been believed of the provocation of the war with Mexico; no matter what people might have thought of our haste to begin that war, or our object, everybody in the world must have admitted that we dealt with Mexico as became a great and generous people. So we have dealt with Spain in giving her $20,000,000—a bagatelle, a mere nothing. These possessions are ours by conquest, by purchase, by right. We could not give them up if we would.

If one-half of the people of Luzon are capable—I believe more than that number are capable to-day—of managing their affairs in a fairly good condition, I would say to them: This is the line that we think your government should be inaugurated upon; and then I would ask them to inaugurate a government in entire accordance with republican sentiment and republican principles. I am aware that they know nothing about free government. I am aware that they are incapable of establishing, without our advice, without our moral support, and possibly without our physical support, a government such as we should be willing to see established in those islands—a government which would give protection to person and property and ultimately lift those people up to a higher plane than they now occupy.

I do not believe that they can manage a government like that which is maintained in some of the States of this Union, or, I may say, in all of the States of this Union; but here is a fundamental truth recognized in republican government, that a people are entitled only to such government as they can maintain. Any government which they can maintain, which brings order and peace to the people, is the government which

they have the right to have and ought to have, and we have no right to interfere and say to them, "Unless you can maintain a better government than you now have, one as good as ours, you must let us manage your affairs, and we will give you a better government." A government of the people and by the people may not always be the highest order of government, but if it brings peace and protection to the people, and is the best they can do, it is all that we can demand of them.

I believe we have a great obligation resting upon us, which is to help these people. I know the danger and the trouble of dealing with tropical people. I know that there has never been in a tropical country a government such as we believe ought to exist, and I am of the opinion that there never will be one that will come up to our idea of government. The people who live in the Tropics are not qualified, and, I fear, never will be qualified to maintain such a government as is maintained by Anglo-Saxon people. A torrid climate does not develop high mental or moral qualities. Yet we can not say to them, "You can not have a government of your own choice and of your own creating;" for if we do, then we abandon the great doctrine of republics, which is that the people are entitled to make their own government.

I am not dealing with this question believing that we are not to have embarrassment, that we are not to have trouble. I know we shall have, but I do not believe we should shrink from our duty because there may be difficulties attending it. It may cost us some money; but it has cost us already at least $300,000,000, and it has cost us two or three thousand lives. It may cost us as much more. We entered upon this war with deliberation. It was the American people

who made this war; it was not the Administration; it was not the Senate; it was not the House of Representatives; it was the American people who demanded that we should intervene in the interests of the downtrodden in Cuba; and when eight or ten millions more of men under like circumstances fall under our control, we can not avoid our duty by saying, "We went to war to help Cuba. We will help nobody else." That is cowardly. We can not do it. We are big enough and rich enough to carry on this great work in the interest of freedom without counting the expense. It is too late to do that now. All we need to consider is how can we do this work without injury to ourselves and a blessing to these people.

That is the principle which ought to animate the American Senate and the American House and the American people. I would say to the inhabitants of these new possessions, "If you can maintain a government of order for your local affairs, you shall be allowed to do it." I should say to them in addition, "We will, for your good, stand between you and the European powers, who would appropriate your country and would inaugurate a system of colonial dependence such as England has in India and such as Spain has maintained over you, and we will see that no foreign power interferes with you;" and to do that, we must say to them, "If you wish to speak to the world on foreign affairs you must speak through us." We may call it a protectorate or we may call it what we please. I would stand back of these people and help them, help to give to them a government that will secure to them the blessings of liberty, and help them to solve the great questions which are presented to them as a free people, for that is what we have got to make them.

I never look for and never expect to find in a tropical country a government like unto ours. It is not in the nature of things that there should be. The Asiatic will never maintain such a government as the Anglo-Saxon. He is not capable of it, and wedded as he is to traditions, seeing only good in that which has gone before, he does not make an effort to improve, as the Anglo-Saxon does.

Yet, by daily contact with the duties of manhood and citizenship, he is progressing gradually, and there is hope for improvement, even in the tropical world. There is hope for the people in the Philippines, who are infinitely better to-day than they were when Spain went there. I mean more intelligent and capable of self-government. Notwithstanding the oppressions of Spain and the outrages inflicted upon them for two hundred years, they have made progress. They will make more under republican principles if we are wise and deal with them intelligently and justly. As said by that illustrious naval officer, kindness and protection of their interests will bring them into close communion with us. I will not say there will not be any difficulty, but there will be no difficulty that is insurmountable in dealing with them.

We can make a mistake by refusing to do justice to them, and we can have great tribulations brought upon us by so doing. We shall make a mistake if we make up our minds that we are going to govern those people from here; that we are going to govern them with the Anglo-Saxons whom we send out from here to administer the affairs of that country. You will need your 50,000 soldiers, and in a little while you will need more, for they are a great people. They are a people who know something of their rights. They are a people who are willing to contend for them, and

I believe it to be almost an axiom that a people who will fight for their liberty, and who are willing to die for it, are capable of maintaining it when they get it.

I do not want to give up these islands. I do not want to surrender them to anybody in the world. I do not want to govern them in the spirit of the colonial governments of Europe, or as many of them are being carried on. I do not want to give them up, because to give them up would be to leave those people in a worse condition than they were when we took away the power of Spain. We may leave them a prey, perhaps, to their own vices. We leave them to be a prey of all Europe. We must stand for them. We have put up our flag. There it is going to stay.

It is going to stay there for their protection and our glory, for there can be no greater glory coming to any nation in the world than that they should take eight or ten million men, bound down by the power of a wicked government, and lift them up and put them on the plane of citizenship in a great republic and say to them, "So far as is consistent with safety to us, you shall be a part and a parcel of this great people." That does not mean that you must make States of them. It does not mean that you shall give them the elective franchise, but it does mean that you shall give them the protection of the flag; that you shall stand between them and foreign powers; that you shall give them that moral aid, that moral encouragement, which will enable them to take care of themselves.

If there was doubt I would not let constitutional questions prevent us from going on and doing what we started to do. There is no doubt of our power. The way is clear. The power is ample. It is not necessary to make them States, But the question of

statehood will be determined by the character of the men and not by their distance from our shores. I do not believe they will be States ever. The time may come when we can say "Accept full sovereignty. Take care of yourselves. Go to the world and proclaim your nationality, put up your own flag." But they can not do it now. They must have our fostering care for a time, with kindness and justice. The American flag to them should always represent something besides the majesty of this Government. It should represent that always, wherever it floats, but it should represent to those people freedom, protection, participation in the benefits of the greatest and freest people in the world.

CHAPTER XIV.

WHAT WILL THEY DO TO US?

BY HON. GEORGE FRANKLIN EDMUNDS,

EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM VERMONT.

1. These 1,200 islands, more or less, are in the heart of the tropics and occupy a region of seas nearly 1,000 miles long north and south and about 300 miles wide. They are about 7,000 miles distant from our Pacific coast and are about 14,000 miles distant from our Atlantic coast via the Suez Canal, controlled by a foreign power. Only a few of the islands are large enough to play any important part in the problem. These are Luzon, Camarines, Mindoro, Samar, Leyte, Panay, Mindanao and Palawan. The latest encyclopædias estimate the area at about 114,000 square miles and the population at 7,000,000.

2. They have all the climatic evils and diseases of tropical countries and are frequently afflicted by violent hurricanes and earthquakes. They are, as all human experience has proved, absolutely incapable of being colonized and built up into communities of Americans or of any of the people of cool climates.

3. They are already inhabited, as already stated, by about 7,000,000 of people—being more than sixty to the square mile of the whole area of all the islands. The population, therefore, is already denser than that of the State of Michigan. The population is composed of Spaniards, other Europeans, English and Americans, half-castes, Chinese, Malays, Japanese and aboriginal natives. Of the total of all this conglomerate of races the Europeans and Americans compose less

than 2 per cent after more than two hundred years of European occupation, and very few of these were born there. Even in Manila, the capital, 67 per cent of the inhabitants are Malays, 30 per cent are Chinese and half-breeds, Spaniards; Spanish half-breeds and creoles 3 per cent only, and of other white men only a trace and of white women substantially none.

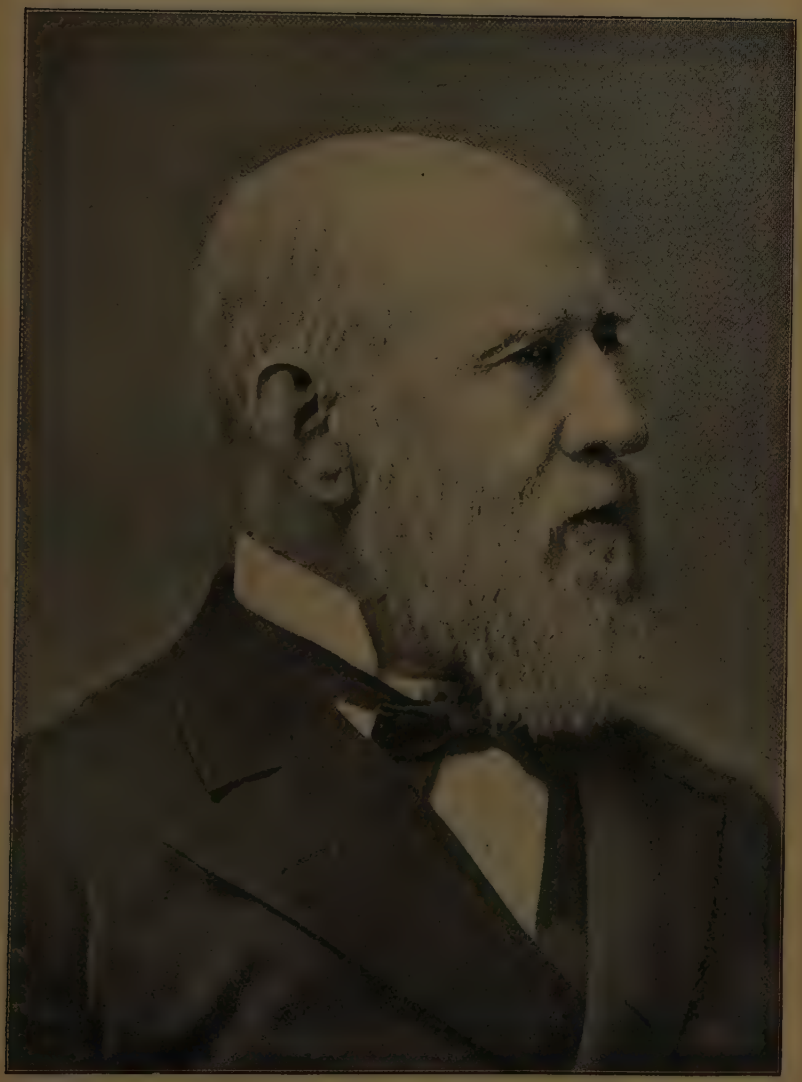
4. The five or six islands of the group of any considerable size are already fully populated by the races and mixtures above mentioned.

5. They are people who never have been and never can be in need of or the consumers of American productions to any appreciable extent.

6. The islands are very fertile and produce principally the fibre known as Manila hemp, coarse tobacco, coffee, sugar and tropical fruits; and they have extensive forests of tropical woods analogous to those of the vast forests of Central and South America.

7. These resources comprise the only value of the islands except that of furnishing a location for fortresses and naval stations for a nation ambitious to become the political and military mistress of the world, A new Alexander or Napoleon, if he possessed inexhaustible resources of men and money, might wish for them for this purpose.

8. The sincerely professed and sole purpose of the war was to make Cuba a free and independent state. Admiral Dewey did not go to Manila for purposes of conquest at all. He went there with his gallant little fleet to capture or destroy, if he could, the Spanish fleet. He did it in a way that astonished the naval powers of the world. But he only acquired military control of the bay and city of Manila and its environments. Nearly all beyond that was in possession of an organized rebellion against Spain.



9. At that time, and long before, an active and powerful rebellion was in progress in the islands, and so far as present information goes it now holds sway over a large part of Luzon and quite or nearly the whole of Panay and of other large districts of these principal islands. It appears to be true that the rebels co-operated with our forces in the overthrow of the Spanish rule at Manila under the impression that our operations at Manila were not to help Spain to put down the rebellion and then take possession for ourselves, but were only to cripple the Spanish power as an incident of war in bringing Spain to renounce its control of Cuba, which Congress had said in its declaration in respect to Cuba was its sole purpose.

10. That the people of the islands who were carrying on the rebellion in order to be free and independent do not desire to be annexed and to become a territorial dependency of the United States of any kind, and that they intend to resist annexation appears to be indisputable.

What I have said so far will not, I take it, be disputed by any intelligent person. What then in the present state of affairs is to be done?

Are we to make war upon the people of the Philippines as Spain was doing, in order to subject them to our dominion?

This apparently we must do to make them a people (whether citizens, subjects or slaves) of the United States.

To justify this "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" should compel our Government to state definitely the grounds upon which we make the attempt. We have assured the nations of the globe in the most solemn manner possible that we made war not for conquest or extended dominion, but solely to

set the people of Cuba free—of whom Congress declared that "they were and of right ought to be free and independent."

At that very time the Philippine rebellion was stronger and better organized than that of Cuba. Recent events have proved that the Philippine rebels are as capable of self-government as the people of Cuba. When the United States aided in the attainment and recognized the independence of the Spanish provinces of Central and South America our Government did not set itself up to be the final judges of whether or not they were capable of self-government, although it was perfectly well known that self-government by the people of those provinces could not be such, and never could be such, as the races and inhabitants of temperate zones could establish and maintain.

To force our dominion, then, upon the people of the Philippines would be in opposition to the ever-living principles on which our own nation was founded, and under which it has in a little more than a century grown so great in an ever-increasing native and homogeneous people, established in a temperate zone of the earth, and capable from this cause of continuous development in industry, increase of knowledge, in social order, justice and morality. If we now proceed to conquer (as probably we can at last, although Spain has failed to do it after more than a century of effort), what shall we say to them is the motive of our conduct?

How are we to explain it to the world, having "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," as Jefferson and our fathers thought necessary in our Declaration of Independence?

Can we be justified in forcing by the sword our particular and excellent ideas of government, morality

and religion upon these people, as Mahomet did in his religious wars and as Spain did in her early operations on this continent?

How will such of our "bishops, priests and deacons" and religious newspapers as have appeared to favor the scheme find authority in the greatest and best of all books that have ever been given to mankind —the New Testament—for this new enterprise now proposed for our republic?

All the people of these islands who were the subjects of Spain will become citizens of the United States by the mere act of cession unless the treaty of cession should provide that those who wished could remain subjects of Spain and aliens as to the United States. This has been a necessary rule of international law for hundreds of years; and the rule is founded upon the obvious fact that the people of every country or of any part of it must owe allegiance to and be subject to the government of some sovereign power, be it a tribe, or emperor, or king, or republic, and must, unless they are slaves or serfs, have the rights of such.

But a republic can have no subjects. Its people must be either citizens, slaves or aliens.

If aliens, they are the subjects or citizens of some other power which is bound to protect them. The transfer, therefore, of the sovereignty of Spain over the Philippines to the United States makes all her subjects at once citizens of the United States.

If citizens of the United States, they have all the rights that belong to other citizens in the Territories, whether on the mainland or on islands of the sea. Neither geography nor distance has anything to do with it.

The Constitution of the United States provides for the government of Territories as well as for govern-

ment within the States. In the States the autonomy is fixed in respect of all the three departments of the Government—legislative, executive and judicial. In the Territories Congress is left free to regulate, subject to the Constitution, the means of government according to its discretion. But fundamental and other private rights are, and always have been, as secure under and by force of the same Constitution in the Territories as in the States. The Constitution secures both, only by different methods of exertion. Congress may invest the political government of a Territory in a single person if it chooses, and confide the judicial power to a single judge if it likes, but it cannot authorize the political Governor to make a law that injuriously affects personal rights differently from such laws as Congress may rightfully make for the citizens of a State.

It cannot authorize a Territorial judge to condemn a man unheard or to deal with his person or property otherwise than by that due process of law which the Constitution secures to all the people who owe allegiance to the United States or are within its sovereign power. It cannot say that no citizen residing in a State shall migrate to a Territory, or that a citizen or some particular class of citizens residing in a Territory shall not migrate to a State. In short, the Constitution does operate and have full force in our Territories in the respects that affect the personal and civil rights of all.

This fundamental principle (self-evident on our republican theory of government) has been constantly recognized and acted upon by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Congress, therefore, cannot lawfully prevent the migration of any citizen residing in the Philippines

(and every Spanish subject therein becomes one by force of the treaty) to our States any more than it can lawfully prevent the migration of citizens of the States to the Philippines. It is not well, then, to shut our eyes to dangers of this character that attend such acquisition of territories fully populated by such peoples as those of the Philippines are known to be.

There are other considerations, both humane and financial, that cannot be ignored. If the people of the Philippines, both civilized and savage, must be subdued to our Christian government by force of arms, how many American lives and how much American treasure ought to be sacrificed to that end?

Rapidly developing events seem to show that a military force of at least 50,000 men must be kept up on land in those islands in order to our obtaining an effectual supremacy.

And this force must be supported by many naval vessels, with their crews, etc. To keep up such an establishment it is evident from the experience of Spain and from that of other nations carrying on such operations in the tropics that a constant current of supply and reinforcement both of material and men must go on.

Besides the casualties of battle with foes (some of whom Spain has not been able to subdue in 200 years of effort) there is also the constant and unconquerable foe of the tropical climate and the diseases always present in it.

And besides this no troops from the temperate zones can long endure the effect of such a climate, and they must therefore be withdrawn to some cooler latitude at very short periods to recuperate. The English in India happily have the Himalayan hills within comparatively short distances, to which their troops are

sent at frequent intervals to escape the exhaustion of the tropical seacoast. But our troops in the Philippines must be transported by sea four or five thousand miles to reach the salubrious shores of California and Oregon. To accomplish all this the annual and continuous expenditure of millions upon millions of the earnings of our people must go on indefinitely.

But we are now confronted with both a "condition" and a "theory." The Executive has concluded a treaty by which Spain has ceded the sovereignty of the whole Philippine group, of which she had actual possession of only a small fraction, and in many parts of which her dominion had been absolutely overthrown, and in other parts of which she never had any dominion at all, many of the islands having from the first until to-day been inhabited by independe t tribes over which Spain never had any actual dominion.

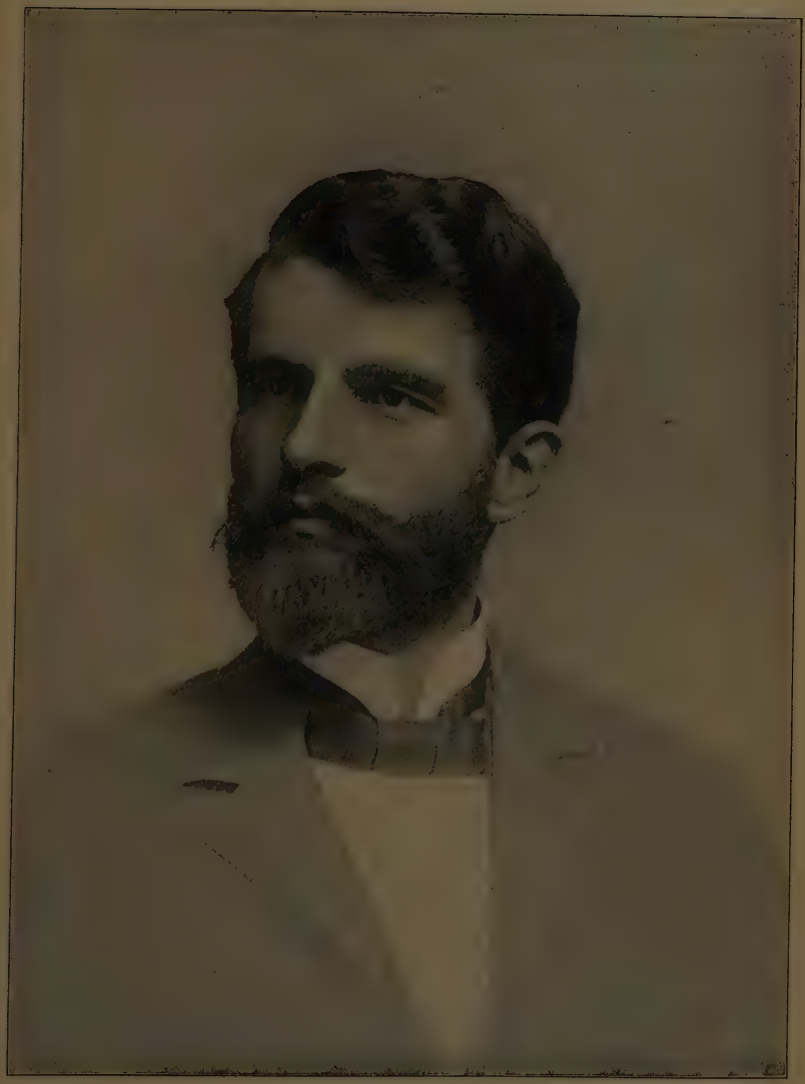
In dealing with this treaty the Senate is supposed to be as free to act according to its own judgment as the President was free to act according to his in negotiating it. The Senate may decline to ratify the treaty, which in the present state of affairs would produce a situation extremely embarrassing. But if the Senate believes the treaty to be wrong it will doubtless have the courage to reject it and to face the consequences.

The Senate, however, may consider that while Spain ought to depart from the Philippines and renounce her dominion there, the United States ought not to assume her sovereignty, such as it was, against tne express will of the people of the islands. And in view of the evils likely to follow even if those people desired to become a part of the United States, the Senate can amend the treaty so as to provide substantially, as the scheme has been as to Cuba, that the people of those islands should be left to govern them-

selves as best they may, with such guarantees for order and personal safety of the inhabitants as shall be adequate to the preservation of order. Such a guarantee can be presently enforced at infinitely less cost of blood and treasure than our undertaking to assume and exercise sovereignty over the islands.

In such a case every material benefit of trade, commerce and of political expediency can be attained.

I make no comment in respect of the price of $20,000,000 provided by the treaty to be paid to Spain for the islands. In view of the gravity of the other aspects of the subject it is not worthy of notice.



Marion Burton

CHAPTER XV.

A GOVERNMENT BASED ON FORCE.

BY HON. MARION BUTLER,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

The daily reports from the scene of war in the Philippine Islands cannot have failed to cause considerable reflection on the part of even a casual observer of current events. One day the Associated Press reports announce, in great headlines, that "Our Troops Are Steadily Advancing Against the Filipinos;" another day that, "General Otis has the Situation well under Control;" another day that, "General Otis thinks there is no Doubt about his Subjugating the Filipinos after Awhile;" another day that, "There was on Yesterday a Sharp Engagement between our Troops and the Filipinos, we lost Fifty Men, the Fillipinos lost Heavily, but Number Unknown;" another day that, "General Otis is Preparing to Make a more Vigorous Onslaught against the Stubborn Fillipinos." Only a few days ago the announcement was that there had been a very sharp engagement, and that our soldiers fought bravely and sustained the deadly fire of the Filipinos with great courage; that while we lost a hundred or more, the Fillipinos lost much more heavily, etc., etc. This same dispatch contained a list of the killed and wounded of our men, which made over a column in fine type.

No one has ever doubted the ability of the United States Government to subjugate the Fillipinos; and,

in fact, to kill and bury every one of them if we so desired. If we should conquer such an half-fed, half-clothed, and half-savage people in an hundred different islands, there would be no glory or credit in it for a great civilized government like the United States. The question for the American people to consider is whether or not it is right and best for us to do this thing. First, whether it is right and consistent with the principles upon which this government is founded; and, second, without even regarding the questions of right and morals, whether or not the game is worth the ammunition.

If we had the Philippine Islands, what would we do with them? If we attempt to govern them as a conquered people (a thing that must be repugnant to every American patriot and to every believer in a free government) it will be necessary for us to always keep a large standing army at great expense, ready to shoot down and kill the inhabitants of those islands whenever they evince the least desire for freedom, just as the English were ready to shoot us down in 1776, or to hang any of our leading patriots up by the neck whenever, by tongue or pen, they dared to express the sentiment that we ought to have a free government of our own. It is no answer for us to say that we were better qualified for self-government in 1776 than the Filipinos are now or will ever be. If the Declaration of Independence is true, then the Fillipinos are just as much entitled to a free government as we were, and are entitled to the kind of government which is best suited to them, which government will be the kind that they are capable of forming and maintaining. A people become more capable of self-government as they have the burdens and responsibilities of government thrust upon them.

Besides, we will have to send a large number of office-holders to those islands who would not only draw their salaries from our government, but who would consider it their privilege to plunder and oppress the Fillipinos for their own personal profit and gain. What advantage could come to our people or to our government from this great outlay of money, this corruption in high places, and this course which would result in necessary murder to enforce our decrees? None whatever. There might be a few monopolists in this country who could gobble up some franchises or valuable resources of the islands for their own personal profit, while Uncle Sam and the American people footed the bills and committed the greater crimes necessary for their personal gain. We paid Spain twenty million dollars for a law suit. We have already spent much more than that amount since in trying to establish our claim, which will be worse than a white elephant after we have won it. This is the financial side of the transaction, but the effect that such a course will have upon our own government at home is still more serious and important.

No individual can ever elevate himself and accomplish anything praiseworthy and noble without having a high ideal for his rule of conduct, towards which he is always striving whether he reaches it or not. The same is true of a nation, and vitally true of a Republic. Our forefathers set up in the Declaration of Independence the highest Code of political morals ever promulgated by man. Firmly planted on these great principles as the bed-rock of our faith, this government has grown rich and powerful in the brief time of a century, becoming to be not only a world power but the greatest world power known. While it is true that our government has not always lived up to the

principles of the Declaration of Independence, any more than has the most devout Christian lived up in strict letter to the Ten Commandments, yet the important thing is that the Nation has always held to these principles and striven toward them just as the Christian has always kept before him the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule as his cloud by day and his pillar of fire by night. Nations and individuals make mistakes, take false steps; but these are never serious as long as we stand by our ideals and principles, because the mistakes will simply serve as examples and object-lessons to point out dangers and warn us against making other such false steps in the future. But whenever a nation or an individual deliberately disregards its high ideals, and deliberately turns its back upon them all in order to commit a false step, then such a false step is fatal and the individual and the nation taking it is lost.

So the policy upon which the Syndicates and the Monopolists and Franchise-Grabbers have forced this country to embark, in open repudiation of every principle of the Declaration of Independence and of every fundamental principle underlying a free Republic, is fatal to the government unless the people themselves realize the enormity of the crime committed, drive from power their false representatives, and restore the government into the hands of the followers of Jefferson and Lincoln.

CHAPTER XVI.

A REPUBLIC CAN HAVE NO SUBJECTS.

BY HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON,

EX-VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

During the century now drawing to a close America has given to the world its best lessons in liberty and in law. Near its beginning to Great Britain—no less than to Spain at its close—it has given a never-to-be-forgotten lesson in the dread art of war. The brilliancy of recent victories, the splendid achievements of our arms upon foreign shores and upon distant waters, can not obscure or dim the glory of the triumph of American valor at New Orleans upon the proud day of which this is the anniversary. The 8th of January is one of the sacred days of our calendar.

Each recurring anniversary recalls a bloody struggle which will for all time hold its place in history. Upon that day Jackson, with a handful of militia, with a loss of seven killed and six wounded, defeated and captured the splendidly equipped regulars of the British army. The disgraceful surrender of Hull at Detroit, the wanton destruction by fire of the public buildings at Washington, with all the insults and wrongs which had precipitated the second war with Great Britain, were more than atoned for by the victory we celebrate. It was the last battle of the war; the last fought—the last, I trust in God, that will ever be fought—by England against the United States. The events which inspired, together with the glorious culmination of a struggle forced by a powerful upon a weak nation,

belong now to the domain of history. No American will forget that the British courage, before which a few months later the old guard of Napoleon went down at Waterloo, was unable to cope with Jackson and his heroic comrades at New Orleans.

The treaty of Ghent, establishing peace—which I trust will endure with the ages—between Great Britain and America, had been signed on the 24th of December, fourteen days before the great battle was fought. For many days thereafter, its existence was unknown to the real actors in the great drama. We stand in awe as we contemplate the marvels which have been wrought out by man in the years that lie between that great event and the present hour.

We celebrate each returning 8th of January—as each returning Fourth day of July—in no spirit of unfriendliness to the land from which we derive our language and in a measure our laws, but that the noble deeds of the illustrious dead, the founders and defenders of the Republic, may not perish from the memories of the living. Responding and rejoicing as we do at every manifestation of good will upon the part of the mother country toward her once dependent colonies, yet it is not meet that the truths of history be forgotten. Earnestly as we desire that for the future "the battle flag be furled" between us and our kindred beyond the sea, yet may the day be far distant when the recurrence of our national anniversaries fail to touch a responsive chord in the American heart.

Upon this historic anniversary and this coming together of such as are of the political faith of Andrew Jackson, it may not be out of place to note in brief words some of the achievements of the great party of which during a stormy career he was the acknowledged chieftain and defender. The Democratic party, under the leadership of its immortal founder, Thomas

Jefferson, after a memorable contest, came into power on the 4th day of March, 1801. The intervening years that stretch back to that masterful hour make up almost a century of our national life. No age nor country within so brief a span has witnessed events so stupendous, achievements so marvelous along all pathways of human thought and endeavor. All that genius in the ages past has contributed to the world's treasury of knowledge—to whatever tends to human comfort and to the lessening of human distress—dwindles in the presence of the marvelous achievements of the nineteenth century.

The United States of America—its form of government still an experiment—containing a few millions of people, with but scant population west of the Alleghenies, its frontiers in constant menace from the savage, without army or navy, was struggling for place among the nations. The hour that witnessed the inauguration of Jefferson witnessed the first advent to power of the great political party which for more than one-half the years that make up our constitutional history has controlled the destiny of the Republic. In his brief address to his countrymen upon his induction into the great office Jefferson gave expression to his views upon the salient principles of government, and formulated that confession of political faith which for almost a century has been the touchstone of all Democratic platforms and creeds.

As the key to constitutional interpretation, as the corner stone of our governmental fabric, he proclaimed: "Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights as the most convenient administration for all our domestic concerns; the

preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected."

During fifty-six of the ninety-eight years that have passed since this "creed of our political faith" was declared, the Democratic party has been in control of the General Government. With the deathless principles here enunciated as its evangel, it has kept the faith. In victory and in defeat it has held inviolable the tenets of its great apostle. It celebrated its advent to power by the repeal of the odious alien and sedition laws; enacted by the Federal party during the Administration of Adams. The champion of "equal and exact justice to all men," it stands to-day, as in the past, the relentless foe of special privileges, of organized greed, of high protective and prohibitory tariffs, of all unlawful combinations, monopolies and "trusts"—of whatever tends to oppress or to enrich a class at the expense of the people. Deprecating whatever deprives the accused of his guaranteed right of trial by jury, it held with our great court—amid the storm and stress of civil strife—"the Constitution of the United States the supreme law of the land, in war as well as in peace." Recognizing the wisdom of the fathers in the creation of the great co-ordinate departments of the

Government, the Democratic party, at a critical moment in our history, defeated the mad efforts of the dominant party in Congress to remove from his high office by impeachment the President of the United States for the exercise of clearly defined executive duties.

The antagonist at all times of religious tests and religious intolerance, the Democratic party—amid the excitement and passion born of Know-Nothing fanaticism and proscription—stood, the bulwark of liberty and conscience—of the right to worship God according to the dictates of individual judgment and reason. To the end that "labor be lightly burdened" and commerce, "the handmaid of agriculture," encouraged, the Democratic party stands now, as in the past, for "tariff for revenue only," for the reduction to the minimum of the cost of all necessary articles of consumption. Experience has demonstrated that high tariffs have deprived the Government of its needed revenues, secured to the favored beneficiaries colossal fortunes, and largely increased to the people the cost of the necessaries of life. The baleful but logical results of so-called "protection" are seen in the sudden growth of giant monopolies, combination in restraint of lawful trade, and "trusts," more perilous than foreign foe to the existence of popular government.

"Economy in the public expense" has been and will continue the party shibboleth of democracy. "Subsidies" and all unnecessary expenditures of the public money have ever found untiring foes in those who hold the political faith of Jefferson. Recognizing the imperative obligation to maintain intact State as well as Federal authority—each within the limits prescribed by the Constitution—the Democratic party, with Jefferson, would maintain the rights of the States "as most convenient for the administration of all domestic con-

cerns," and recognize as paramount the sacred obligation "to preserve the General Government in its constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and our safety abroad." "Honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith." It was during the wise and economical administration of President Jackson that the last dollar of governmental indebtedness was paid and our national debt wholly extinguished.

The Democratic party would mete out even-handed justice alike to creditor and debtor. It is the antagonist of whatever, either in legislation or administration, would impair the sacredness of existing obligations or render their discharge more difficult by augmenting or by lessening the debt-paying power of money. "A well-disciplined militia—our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war." True at the beginning of the century, with a few millions of population, no less true at the close, as we stand in the fore-front of the nations, with a population of 70,000,000. The result of our recent conflict with Spain gives emphasis to the prophetic words of Jefferson. Existing conditions in continental Europe, entailing taxation and misery to the verge of human endurance, illustrate by sad object lessons the inevitable results of large standing armies in time of peace.

Shall we still give heed to the warning of the great sage of the revolution or enter upon a new century with European monarchies as our model? Shall we be deaf to the teachings of one hundred years of our own history? Without a large standing army, but relying upon the patriotism and courage of American manhood, we were victorious in the war with Great Britain, with Mexico, in the great civil strife, and with Spain. In the light of history, can it be possible that the American people will consent to the creation of a

large standing army and its consequent continuing and ever-increasing burden of taxation? Shall this be the response of the free Republic to the appeal that comes from despotic Russia for the disarmament of all the nations?

"Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none." At no period in our history have these words of Jefferson possessed a deeper significance. Before we abandon the traditions of the fathers it is well that we deliberate upon the possible consequences of a departure from the settled governmental policy of more than a century. Not in the "delirium of victory," but only after calm discussion of what may follow, should the momentous question now presented be determined. Nations as well as individuals may "do that in their zeal which their calmer judgment dare not approve." It would be difficult to conceive of a question more vital, more far reaching in its consequences, than that now confronting us as to the disposition of recent conquered territory.

Is it too much to say that the enforcement of the proposed policy of the expansionists in a large measure involves the question of a change in our form of government? It can hardly be contended that the measure proposed for the control or government of the Philippine Islands finds warrant in the Constitution. Shall the closing hours of the century witness the American people abandoning the pathway in which past generations have found prosperity and happiness, and embarking upon that of aggression and expansion, against which we are warned by the wrecks which lie along the entire pathway of history? Even if true that "imperialism" would open up a new and larger field for our commerce and make us an important factor in the great affairs of nations, even

these would be purchased at too dear a price. Standing out against the new policy of expansion, of absorbing distant islands, with their 10,000,000 mongrel population, into our body politic, with all it involves of European complication, are the warnings of the founders of the Republic. It was Jefferson who said: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe."

Washington, when retiring from his great office, left these farewell words to be read and pondered by the oncoming generations of his countrymen: "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle ourselves in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, or caprice?"

To those who, in the exuberance of feeling produced by suddenly discovered kinship, would "interweave our destiny" with that of England, counting on her friendship and aid in whatever continental entanglements may result from imperialism, it may be well to recall the suggestive words of Washington: "There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard." Is it asking too much of the American people to solemnly ponder the warn-

ings of Washington and his compatriots before venturing upon an untried pathway beset with foreign jealousies, complications, and antagonisms?

As precedents for the proposed policy of expansion we are referred by its advocates to the Louisiana purchase and to the vast area added to our Republic by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Neither the purchase from France in 1803 nor the cession by Mexico half a century ago furnish a precedent for the policy now proposed to be inaugurated. By the Louisiana purchase the United States acquired the vast territory stretching northward to the British possessions and westward from the Mississippi to the domain of the Spaniard. Out of this vast area, purchased for $15,000,000 from the great Napoleon, have been carved fourteen sovereign States. As the result of the masterly statesmanship of President Jefferson and the unrivaled diplomacy of Monroe and Livingston the free navigation of the Mississippi was secured forever, and a magnificent area, an empire in extent, made a part of our national domain. This grand achievement is the glory of Jefferson and of the great historic party of which he was the founder.

Under a later Democratic administration, and as the result of the treaty which terminated our war with Mexico, we acquired California, Nevada, Utah, a portion of Arizona, and New Mexico, thus bringing under our flag, to remain forever, the vast expanse stretching from the eastern seaboard to the Pacific Ocean. The territory thus acquired was the fit abode for men of our own race. Either at the period of annexation or soon thereafter it passed under the rule of the Anglo-Saxon, who had carried with him our language and our laws. It was territory contiguous to our own, and acquired with the intention at the proper time—when population and conditions would justify—of

carving it into States. The wisdom that inspired all this seems more than human. The result: Millions of happy American homes, increase beyond the dreams of avarice of our national wealth, and the United States chief among the nations of the earth.

Are we to be told that history is but repeating itself, and that the contemplated annexation or absorption of the Philippine Archipelago finds precedent in the historic events I have mentioned? The answer is found in the bare statement of facts. The acquired territory is contiguous; the Philippine islands, 8,000 miles distant. The former adapted to the residence, comfort, and happiness of our own people; the latter the fit abode for the half-civilized and degraded races, its only occupants amid poverty and wretchedness for centuries. The acquisition of the territory upon our own continent added little to the national expense; to maintain sovereignty over the distant islands will necessitate immense expenditures upon our Army and Navy. The people of the former were of the self-governing races; the latter know no rule but that of force.

We are told that "Trade follows the flag," and that untold commercial advantages will result from the proposed acquisition. Trade knows no sentiment; it goes where it is profitable. What of our products will find market in these remote islands? Ninety per cent of our exports reach European markets "because only the civilized man is the consumer." Whatever of commercial advantage may result from annexation will be as the dust in the balance to the immense naval expenditure it entails.

The graver questions involved in the proposed scheme of annexation are yet to be considered. What is to be the permanent form of government for the Philippine Islands? I do not controvert the power of

the National Government to acquire new territory. The power incident, of establishing for it temporary government, is alike unquestioned. The instances already cited, of the Louisiana purchase and that by treaty from Mexico, are well established precedents. In these cases, however, it was never questioned that, with suitable boundaries and division and under proper regulations, the entire territory would ultimately attain to statehood.

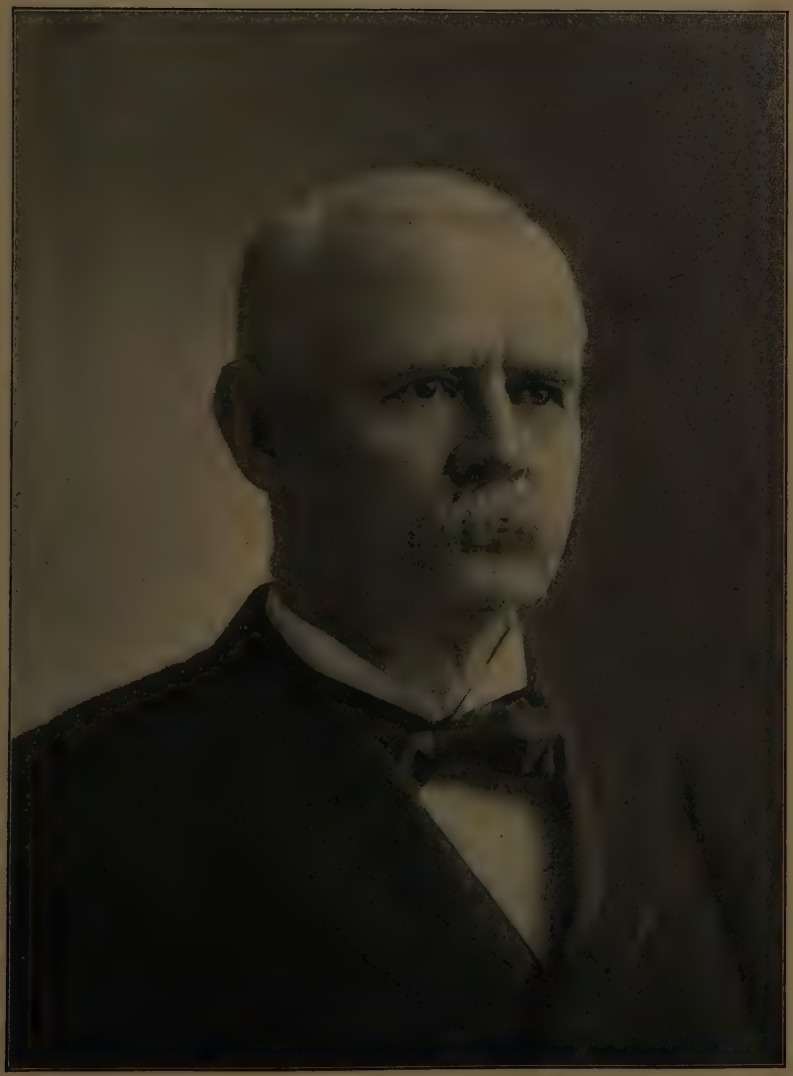
The question recurs, What form of government do the expansionists propose for the Philippine Islands? Are the Territorial or colonial governments which Congress may possibly establish to be only preliminary to the creation of sovereign States to be admitted into the Federal Union? This of necessity contemplates the admission of many additional Senators and Representatives to seats in Congress, the aggregate population of the islands now being double that of our entire country at the first inauguration of Washington. In view of the degraded character of the population, their total unfitness for self-government, the proposition is monstrous. Its consummation would be a crime against civilization.

If it be the intention to establish our political institutions in these remote islands, then what becomes of the "Monroe doctrine"? This vital international policy, announced by the President of the United States seventy-five years ago, was: "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." Immediately following this, and as part of the declared intention of our Government, so clearly enunciated by Monroe, was the solemn declaration: "With the existing colonies

or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere."

The Monroe doctrine is wholesome and enduring. It is the faith of Americans of every creed and party —is of the very warp and woof of our political being. It was promulgated at the critical moment when the "Holy Alliance" was attempting to stifle the republican spirit and re-establish the despotism of Spain upon her revolted colonies in South America and Mexico. The essence of the doctrine, as understood by the world then, was, while we forbid the establishment of despotic governments upon the American continent, we recognize the corresponding obligation to refrain from any attempt to force our political system upon any part of the Old World. This has been our settled rule of faith and practice for seventy-five years. Its promulgation defeated the purpose of the Holy Alliance and destroyed forever the power of Spain upon this continent. Under it Louis Napoleon, a third of a century ago, was obliged to withdraw the French army from Mexico and leave the ill-starred Maximilian to his fate. Under it the empire established by foreign bayonets disappeared and the Republic was restored. Are we now to say that we still recognize the binding force of this doctrine upon other nations, but not upon ourselves?

If ultimate statehood for these remote islands be disclaimed, how, then, are they to be held and governed? The only alternative is by force—by the power of the Army and the Navy; and this not for a day or for a year, but for time. What then becomes of the bed-rock principle that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?" If they are to be held permanently, as conquered provinces, then it will not only be in absolute disregard of all the traditions of the past, but in direct antagonism to



A. E. Stevenson

the letter and spirit of our Declaration of Independence. It is no less true now than in the days of our Revolution that "government by arbitrary power is still despotism."

A question yet more grave can not escape our serious consideration. It is one that touches the good faith, the honor of our nation. Events have crowded in such rapid succession that we seem to have forgotten the avowed purpose of the war with Spain. It was declared to be a war solely in the interests of humanity—solely for the relief of the oppressed and starving at our door. An eminent Republican Senator a few months ago voiced the sentiments of the entire country when he said: "It is a war in which there does not enter the slightest thought or desire of foreign conquest or of national gain or advantage." Alas, what a change has come in so brief a time! The wrongs of the poor Cuban are forgotten, and the dream of the imperialist is now of untold commercial gain and of the United States becoming chief among the factors in European politics. "We can not escape history." For all time we will be judged by our solemn disclaimer, immediately following the formal declaration of war:

"The United States hereby disclaims any disposition to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

It was this solemn disclaimer by the American Congress that justified the war at the bar of our own conscience and that of the world. To say now that our disclaimer applied only to Cuba and not to other Spanish dependencies would be only "to palter with words in a double sense." It is a subterfuge un-

worthy of the greatest of nations. Is it too late even now to demand of those whose hands hold power to make good our solemn declaration that our war with Spain was waged not in the spirit of aggrandizement but solely in the interest of humanity?

CHAPTER XVII.

FALSE STEPS BY A NATION ARE HARD TO RETRACE.

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN,

PRESIDENT OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

I wish to maintain a single proposition. It is our plain duty to withdraw from the Philippine Islands as soon as in dignity we can. I ask you to consider with me three questions of the hour:

Why do we want the Philippines?

What can we do with them?

What will they do to us?

The questions demand serious consideration, not one at a time, but all together. We should know clearly our final intentions as a nation, for it is never easy to retrace false steps. We have made too many of them already. It is time for us to grow serious. Even the most headlong of our people admit that we stand in the presence of a real crisis. But the problem is virtually solved when we know what our true interests are. Half the energy we have spent in getting into trouble will take us honorably out of it.

Once convinced that we do not want the Philippines it will be easy to abandon them. The difficulty is that we do not yet know what we want, and we are afraid that if we once let these people go we will never catch them again.

Let us glance for a moment at the actual condition of affairs. By the fortunes of war the capital of the

Philippine Islands fell last May into the hands of our navy.

The city of Manila we have held, and by dint of bulldog diplomacy our final treaty of peace has assigned to us the four hundred islands of the whole archipelago. To these we have as yet no real title. We can get none till the actual owners have been consulted. We have only purchased Spain's quitclaim deed to property she could not hold and which she cannot transfer. For the right to finish the conquest of the Philippines we have agreed on our part to pay $20,000,000 in cash, or $2 apiece for each man, woman and child the archipelago contains, besides the land on which they were born, and which, in their fashion, they have cultivated. This is a sum absurdly large, if we consider only the use we are likely to make of the region and the probable cost of its reconquest and rule.

It seems criminally small, if we consider the possible returns to us, or to Spain, from peddling out the islands for old junk in the open market or from leasing them to commercial companies competent to exploit them to their utmost.

The price is high when we remember that the United States for a century has felt absolutely no need for such property and would not have taken any of it or all of it as a gift.

The price is high, too, when we observe that the failure of Spain placed the islands not in our hands, but in the hands of their own people—a third party whose interest we, like Spain, have as yet failed to consider, Emilio Aguinaldo, the liberator of the Filipinos, the "Washington of the Orient," is the de facto ruler of most of the islands.

If at the close of our Revolutionary War the King of France, coming in at the eleventh hour and driv-

ing the English from our capitol, had bought a quit-claim deed to the colonies, proposing to retain them in the interest of French commerce, he would have held exactly the position in which President McKinley has placed the United States.

Let us consider the first of our propositions.

Why do we want the Philippines?

To this I can give no answer of my own. I can see not one valid reason why we should want them, and not many why they should want us.

I am not convinced that we can give them anything which they will value, or which will make them stronger or happier. I am sure that they can in no wise help us. But while I can give no reason of my own, I have listened carefully to the speeches of others, and the voices I have heard are legion.

In the one breath we are told that it is the will of God that we should annex the Philippines and make civilized American Christians of their medley population. In another, we must crush out the usurper Aguinaldo, drive his rebel followers to the swamps and fastnesses and build up institutions with the remnant that survive.

All this is in the line of least resistance. Along this line Spain ruled and plundered her colonies. In such fashion her colonies impoverished and corrupted Spain. Because she had no moral force to prevent it, cruelty and corruption became her manifest destiny. It will be ours if we follow her methods. Toward such a manifest destiny "the tumult and the shouting" of to-day are hurrying us along. Nations, like men, must learn to say "No" when "Yes" is fatal.

One of the ablest of British public men—one known to all of us as a stanch friend of the United States through the Civil War, when our allies in the present British Ministry could not conceal their hatred and

contempt, writes in a private letter these words to me: "I could not say this in my public writings," he says, and so I do not give his name, "but it seems to me that expansion has in it a large element of sheer vulgarity, in the shape of a parvenu desire for admission into the imperialist and military camp of the Old World."

But, again, what guarantee is there that we shall give good government? What obligation is there that any one should do so? When did it become our duty to see that anarchy and corruption are expelled from semi-barbarous regions? For thirty years we have misgoverned Alaska with open eyes and even now scarcely a visible sign of repentance. We are not sworn to good government even in our own cities. We give them self-government, and that is all. The people everywhere make their own standards, China, Korea, Siam, Turkey, Tartary, Arabia and the peoples of Asia generally, "half devil, half child," are none of them under good government. The rulers of Central America, of Venezuela, Bolivia, and, worst of all, the unspeakable Hayti, are no more efficient or more virtuous than the Filipinos. As men we may care for these things and work for their improvement; as a nation they are none of our business, so long as their badness of government does not harm our national interests. We have no nearer concern in the government of the Philippines.

The Philippines are not contiguous to any land of freedom. They lie in the heart of that region which Ambrose Bierce calls "the horrid zone, nature's asylum for degenerates." They are already densely populated—more densely than even the oldest of the United States. Their population cannot be exterminated on the one hand nor made economically potent on the other, except through slavery. Finally, the

conditions of life are such as to forbid Anglo-Saxon colonization. Free institutions worthy of the name have never yet existed in the tropics. Apparently they can never exist there.

Individual exceptions and special cases to the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon or any other civilized race degenerates in the tropics mentally, morally, physically.

This statement has been lately denied in some quarters. Degeneration may be any one of three different kinds: Race decline, personal degeneration, and social decay.

The essential of race degeneration is the continuous lowering of the mental and physical powers of each successive generation. Such a process is very slow, requiring centuries before it shows itself. It finds its cause in unwholesome conditions which destroy first the bravest, strongest and most active, leaving the feeble, indolent and cowardly to perpetuate the species. Military selection or seizure of the strong to replenish the armies has produced race degeneration in many parts of Europe.

For the control of dependent nations and slave races the fair-sounding name of "imperialism" has lately come into use. It has been hailed with joy on the one hand, for it is associated with armorial bearings and more than royal pomp and splendor; it has been made a term of reproach on the other, and our newspaper politicians now hasten to declare that they favor expansion only when it has "no taint of imperialism."

All this is a mere quibble in names. Conquest of the Orient is not expansion, because there is no room for free manhood to grow there.

Annexation without imperialism is sheer anarchy. Annexation with imperialism is still worse, for, so far as it goes, it means the abandonment of democracy.

We make slave nations out of the Philippines, but never free States in the sense in which the name State applies to Maine or Iowa or California.

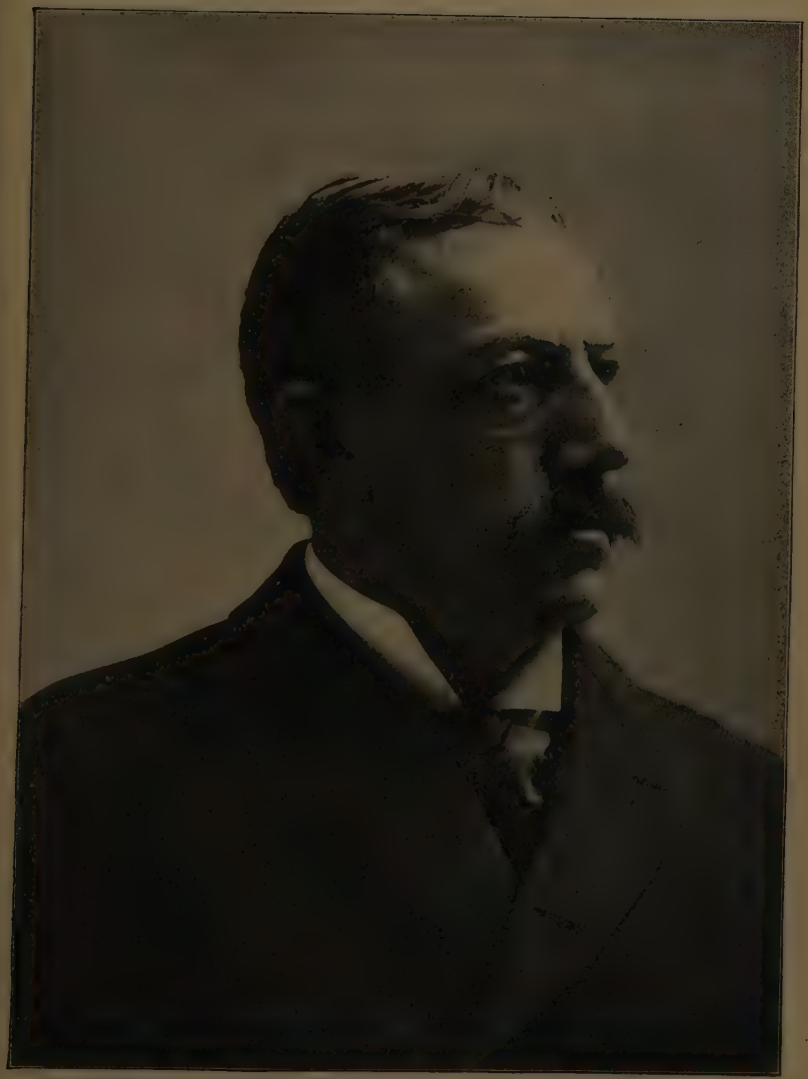
The Philippines can have no part in our Federal Union. Their self-government must be of a wholly different kind—the outgrowth of their own needs and dispositions. If we rule them successfully we must control them in all respects, and especially we must do all their politics for them. What they need is not our freedom, but some form of paternal despotism, or a monarchy of their own, which, as in Europe, will keep the people out of politics.

"Imperialism" is a word too big for the problem before us. We mean simply the control of the tropics, to the extent that they be economically productive. It is a definite business, difficult and costly, with few rewards and many dangers. It is fairly well understood by some of those engaged in it. It has been successfully conducted under certain very narrow lines by Great Britain and by Holland, although both countries have the record of many failures. Germany has tried it for a little while, as has also Japan, neither with instructive results.

Spain is out of the business in final bankruptcy and her assets are in our hands for final disposition. France has made failures only, and this because she has held colonies for her own selfish ends. The main reason of our prosperity is the freedom from war. Our farmer carries no soldier on his back. We fear no foreign invader, because we invite none.

Were the people of the continent of Europe once freed from the cost of militarism, their industrial progress would be the wonder of the ages.

As it is, they are ground down by worse than medieval taxation. A French cartoon represents the farmer of 1780 with a feudal lord on his back. The French



David Starr Jordan

farmer of 1900 is figured as bearing a soldier, then a politician, and on the back of these a Jewish money-lender.

Our British friends speak of the smoothness of their colonial methods, especially in the crown colonies which Parliament cannot touch. Everything runs as though newly oiled, and the British public hears nothing of it. Exactly so. It is none of the public's business, and the less the public has to say the less embarrassment from its ignorant meddling. The colonial bureau belongs to the crown, not to the people. But we are not ready for that kind of adjustment.

Our executive is a creature of the public. We have not governmental affairs which are sacred from the eye or hand of the people. Government of the people, for the people and by the people implies that the people are to be interested in all its details, "every one to the last and the greatest," even at the risk of destroying its smoothness of operation.

Hence, colonial rule, as undertaken by us, must be marred by vacillating ignorance, incompetence, parsimony and neglect. All these defects appear in our foreign relations as well. For the reason of the greater intelligence of our people in public affairs, our government will enter on the control of the tropics with a great handicap. The people want to know all about it. The administration must keep open books and justify itself at every step. This will act against its highest efficiency. The forms of self-government are not adapted to the government of others. The very strength of the Republic unfits it for complicated tasks, because its power can be brought at once into effect only as the people understand its purposes.

Through concentration of power in the Executive we may be able to make of Havana and Manila clean and orderly cities. Shall we not by similar means,

sooner or later, purify San Francisco and New York? If martial government is good for Luzon, or for Santiago, why not for Washington, or even for Boston?

But having opinions of his own, however crude, on all public questions, the citizen demands that his representatives should carry out these opinions. If he has, or thinks he has, a financial interest in any line of policy he will vote for men whose interests are the same as his. In such manner Congress has become not an assembly "of the wisest men to make public laws," but a gathering of attorneys, each pledged to some local or corporate interest, and each doing his best, or appearing to do it, to carry out the lines of policy dictated by others. This condition the fathers could not foresee.

Still democracy is always wiser than it seems. The common politician knows the weaknesses of the people and tries to profit by them. The true statesman knows the strength of the people and tries to lead them, and the results he attains are sometimes marvelous. One of the grandest examples of a man of the people was Lincoln. He could touch the noblest springs in our national character. Such leaders will rise when occasion demand them. Meanwhile, the men are not wanting. Sound common-sense and devoted patriotism are needed in all walks of life and are found there. The froth on the waves may fill our public offices, but the great deep is below them.

"Are all the common ones so grand? and all the titled ones so mean?" was asked in 1863 of the Army of the Potomac.

"The common men so grand," though all the titled ones be mean, is the experience of all democracy. It is far better and far safer than the reverse condition, when only titled men are great and all the common

men are mean. Such nations are like inverted pyramids, resting on the strength of one man.

The cost of this whole business may be urged as an argument against annexation. It will appeal to our people as the discussion of the bill for the enlargement of the army plainly shows. It is clearly evident that the cost of conquest, or even military occupation of the Philippines, is grotesquely in excess of any possible gain to the Government. We may open the way for individuals and corporations to grow rich, but the people can never get their money back. No possible development of the islands can profit the people at large. There are no openings in the tropics for the small farmer, none for the American laborer, or in general none for any of the rank and file of the American people. Nor can any be made by any act of ours. We cannot allow the conditions of life in the Orient. The question of flag, other things being equal, affects neither commerce nor industry.

Trade never "follows the flag," because it is a flag. Trade "flies through the open door," because it is a door. Men buy or sell wherever they can make money.

Another selfish argument is this: That China is soon to be looted by the Powers of Europe. We wish to be on hand to get our share of her land and trade. We would be in the center of the fight, and to that end we would be as vulnerable as the rest. "I held the enemy down," said brave John Phoenix, at San Diego, "with my nose, which I inserted between his teeth for that purpose."

Admitting, however, that somewhere or other a reason exists for taking the Philippines—admitting that we have extinguished Aguinaldo, somehow, by gold or by sword—what shall we do with them?

Shall we hold them as vassal nations, subject to the sovereign will of Congress?

Shall we make them territories, self-governing, so far as be under republican forms?

Shall we devise tariffs and other statutes in their interest, alone, or shall we extend to them unchanged our protective tariff, our navigation laws and our Chinese exclusion acts?

As I have said many times the function of democracy is not to secure good government, but to strengthen the people so that they be wise enough to make good government for themselves.

We have no machinery to handle the affairs of other people. We want none because, to be effective, it must not be democratic. Concentration of authority gives effectiveness at the expense of strength. What is done through democracy has the power of the people behind it. The ideal of democracy is that the people should handle their own affairs and theirs only.

So long as the people of the United States rule themselves alone, so long is democracy safe. The influence of their intelligence and their success is potent everywhere. But this rule extended over an alien and unwilling people ceases to be democracy. It loses its motive force—the consent of the governed, and in proportion as its efforts are successful, so does the "Government of the people and by the people" perish from the earth.

The establishment of a protectorate over the Philippines has many difficulties. It is on the one hand a scheme for finally seizing the islands; on the other, a device to let them go easily. If we assume unasked responsibility for them, they will be reckless in making trouble.

A protected republic is the acme of irresponsibility.

Its politicians may declare war against neutral nations solely "to see the wheels go round."

A friendly alliance seems better than a protectorate, but this is not a matter for off-hand decision.

As to the true American policy of to-day, I give the fullest indorsement to the same words of Professor Janes, which are in substance as follows:

"First—It is our duty to carry out the solemn pledge made to the world, with respect to Cuba, and retain military possession only long enough to enable the Cubans to organize a government of their own. A few months, at least, should witness the complete relinquishment of Cuba into the hands of its own citizens. After that it should remain absolutely free and independent. We have no right to insist that our own or any particular form of government shall be adopted by the Cubans or to impose qualifications of citizenship on them. The present noble government of Mexico, by which, in Diaz' own words, it has become the 'germ of a great nation,' would have been impossible under our own dictation or under the disastrous imperialism of Napoleon and Maximilian. The same rule should be adopted in regard to Porto Rico.

"Second—No inhabited country should be acquired by this Government which cannot be received into the family of States. If, in the future, the people of Cuba and Porto Rico agree with those of the United States that annexation is mutually desirable, they may be joined to our body politic. Our policy in the Philippines should be exactly the same. Let them fit their government to their own needs with the guarantee of our protection from outside interference. But under no circumstances should the Philippines or any distant territory, inhabited by an alien and semi-civilized population, be retained as a permanent possession of the United States."

I may quote in this connection the noble words of Carl Schurz:

"We're told that, having grown so great and strong, we must at last cast off our childish reverence for the teaching of Washington's farewell address, 'nursery rhymes that were sung around the cradle of the Republic.'"

I apprehend that many of those who now so flippantly scoff at the heritage the Father of his Country left us in his last words of admonition, have never read that venerable document. I challenge those who have, to show me a single sentence of general import in it that would not, as a wise rule of national conduct, apply to the circumstances of to-day.

What is it that has given to Washington's farewell address an authority that was revered by all until our recent victories made so many of us drunk with wild ambitions? Not only the prestige of Washington's name, great as that was and should ever remain—no, it was the fact that, under a respectful observance of those teachings, this Republic has grown from the most modest beginnings into a "Union spanning the vast continent." Our people have multiplied from a handful to 75,000,000. We have risen from poverty to wealth—the sum of which the imagination can hardly grasp. This American nation has become one of the greatest and most powerful on earth, and continuing in the same course will surely become the greatest and most powerful of all.

Not Washington's name alone gave his teachings their dignity and weight. It was the practical results of his policy that secured to it, until now, the intelligent approbation of the American people. And unless we have completely lost our senses we shall never despise and reject as mere "nursery rhymes" the words of wisdom left us by the greatest of Americans, fol-

lowing which the American people have achieved a splendor of development without parallel in the history of mankind.

The greatness of a nation lies not in its bigness, but in its justice, in the wisdom and virtue of its people, and in the prosperity of their individual affairs. The nation exists for its men, never the men for the nation. "I cannot help thinking of you as you deserve," said Thoreau, "O, ye governments."

The only government that I recognize, and it matters not how few are at the head of it or how small its army, is that which establishes justice in the land, never that which establishes injustice. The will of freemen to be just one toward another is our final guarantee that the "Government of the people, for the people, by the people shall not perish from the earth."

W. V. Allen

CHAPTER XVIII.

NECESSARY AND NATURAL TERRITORIAL EXPANSION.

BY HON. WILLIAM V. ALLEN,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEBRASKA.

No attempt will be made by me to discuss the question of national expansion at any length. I will confine myself to referring to that subject in general language, but before I conclude I shall attempt to distinguish between necessary and natural territorial expansion and what may be called Napoleonic imperialism.

I shall vote to ratify the treaty of peace with Spain, and in doing so I must not be regarded as representing the views of anyone but those of my constituents and myself. I have necessarily been absent from the Chamber for some days and I have not had the full benefit of all the speeches that have been made during that time, but I have read sufficiently on the subject to satisfy my mind as to what course I should pursue. I think, however, that I ought now to set at rest, as far as I am capable of doing so, a suggestion of the Sunday morning Washington Times, in which it is said:

> If Senator Allen makes good his promise to enlighten the Senate and the country as to the motives that control Senator Gorman in committing his party in the Senate to a cause directly opposite to that recommended by William J. Bryan, * * * and if all other things happen that it was said yesterday would happen, then the three hours of the Senate's session preceding the vote on the peace treaty will indeed be dramatic and exciting.

If there is anything I dislike, it is to be patted on the back and coddled and nursed like an infant by a

newspaper. I have the greatest respect for that kind of journalism that is cast on a high plane and takes a lofty view of public questions, but I have not the slightest regard for that kind that would deal with the prejudices of men or that would appeal to any real or supposed vanity that I might possess to influence my conduct regarding a public question. The statement of that paper is gratuitous. It is wholly inexcusable, for I have at no time "promised to enlighten the Senate and the country as to the motives that control the action of Senator Gorman." Nor do I know what his motives are or what he intends doing, nor am I concerned in knowing.

I am not the keeper of the conscience or of the opinions of Colonel Bryan. I know no more of his wishes or opinions than I gather from his public utterances, a means of information open to all. I do not presume to represent him here or elsewhere and assertions frequently made that I am doing so are utterly unfounded, sinister, and insincere. I am proud to admit that I at least regard myself as the personal, as I trust I am also his political, friend, and I may be permitted to say, in this presence, without intending to reflect in the slightest degree on any other gentleman in public life, that I regard him as easily the superior in point of knowledge and capacity for public duty of any living American statesman, and I do this not because I am his debtor for political or other favors, as he is not my debtor. Whatever may betide him, I am clearly of the opinion that the impartial historian who may write in the calm of another age will rank him with Webster and Clay and that he will be regarded by future generations as one of the greatest statesmen our country has produced. I look upon him as a comet that has appeared in the political heavens, as those great statesmen appeared, that is

seen upon the political horizon of our country once in a generation only.

If there is a man in this world who is absolutely sincere in the doctrines he advocates, that man is Mr. Bryan. He is not a demagogue, as the groundlings and tumblebugs of politics would have the world believe. The sincerity of his political convictions no man who knows him can question. They partake more of religion to him than anything else. To him his duty and pathway are clear. He is not seeking personal advantage, and his convictions on public questions are dearer than the office of President of the United States.

In another article in the Washington Sunday Times it is said:

> The same gossips who have associated Senator Quay's name with a possible bolt on the treaty are also referring to Senator Allen, of Nebraska, as one desiring some favors of the Administration. It seems to be a fairly well-established fact that in the early part of the debate on the treaty Senator Allen announced himself in favor of its ratification, and before going to Nebraska, about three weeks ago, he was paired with a Senator who would vote in opposition. After Senator Allen returned from Nebraska he was quick to announce that he was going to vote against the treaty, and shortly after the Senate convened yesterday he offered a resolution more sweeping in its provisions than any of those now pending introduced by Senator Vest, Senator Bacon, and Senator Sullivan. Mr. Allen goes further than the others. He is not willing to accept Porto Rico as one of the spoils of war, but wants to give the people of that island, as well as the Filipinos, an independent government, the same as is promised for Cuba.
>
> It has been intimated that Senator Allen would not object if the Administration would so exercise its influence on the Nebraska legislature as to have the Republicans join with the Populists and re-elect him for another term. It is not known that Senator Allen would change his position on the treaty if this were done, but it is argued in political circles that this might not be bad politics from an Administration point of view.

It is very difficult to meet and refute a gratuitous and unwarranted assertion of this kind. No man has ever had the slightest occasion to doubt where I stood in respect to the ratification of the treaty. I have never occupied doubtful ground. From the time the treaty came to this Chamber and was laid before us, aye, at a time when I knew through the press what its provisions were, important as they are and as di-

vergent as they are from my own views, I announced my purpose to vote for its ratification.

I am not seeking favors at the hands of this Administration. There is no favor President McKinley could confer upon me that would change my opinion in the slightest degree. I am an American citizen, having all the convictions and intensity of purpose of an American citizen. I am not prepared to surrender my views for favors to be shown. I would rather take my station among the humblest of my kind than to surrender an honest conviction, that is always dear to a self-respecting man.

I have not seen nor talked with the correspondent of a newspaper since my return to this city from my home in Nebraska, and no man has a right to attribute, and if he was a self-respecting man he would not attribute, to me opinions and purposes and motives I have not entertained.

Because I shall vote for the treaty it does not follow that I am in favor of annexation. I do it for the simple reason that in my judgment the Government of the United States can not afford to open up negotiations with the Spanish dynasty again. We have the whole question within our jurisdiction and within our power, and here and by us alone it should be settled. If by amending the treaty we send it back for further consideration by the commissioners, or to new commissioners to be appointed; if we open up the subject-matter of the treaty, we will, in my judgment, especially in the light of very recent events, incur the danger of European interference and European complications.

It is because we will have the power, when the treaty is ratified, of determining the form of government to be set up in the Philippine Islands and in the other possessions that have come to us as a result

of the war, without incurring any danger from abroad, that I shall vote for the ratification of the treaty.

If I had been a member of the commission I would not have assented to many of its provisions. I would have insisted that the same provision which applies to Cuba should apply to the Philippines and to Porto Rico. Otherwise I would not have been brought to sign the treaty or the report favorably recommending it. The treaty is here, and it must be disposed of by the American Senate without further delay.

I am not in favor and I shall not vote for the joint resolution of the senior Senator from Georgia. If passed by Congress and signed by the President, it would simply become a statute that may be repealed by another Congress. It is not expressive of the conviction of this body, which is the constitutional tribunal that must pass upon the treaty and construe and give it force. It would not, in my judgment, possess the force of an ordinary Senate resolution expressing the views of the Senate.

There have been in the entire history of our Government, from the formation of the Constitution and the distribution of its respective powers, two schools of constitutional thought; the one holding tenaciously to the doctrine that the Government possesses and can exercise authority, so far as its foreign policy is concerned, consistent only with the primary purpose of maintaining a government for certain well-defined territories and well-defined inhabitants thereof and their posterity. This school is known as strict constructionists. They hold that the government is one of delegated powers alone, and that a power does not exist unless expressly granted or necessarily, or at least conveniently, implied to carry out a granted power.

The other school is perhaps best known as the Ham-

iltonian theorists, that have from time to time held that the Constitution created a government national in character and possessing, as respects its external relations, not only an express but an implied authority necessary to be exercised with foreign countries as completely and as fully as any nation of the world. Arguments have been brought forth from time to time by these different schools in advocacy of their respective views, and conflicts of a very sharp and important nature have been the result.

Every constitutional expression, clause, and sentence has been examined with a resolute purpose of ascertaining its true meaning, not only in the light of original discussion and as presenting a question of first instance and greatest importance, but also in the light of history and of the spirit and atmosphere of the period of constitutional formation. The temper, habits, and thought, as well as the known intention, of the framers and their unswerving desire of erecting a government that should exist for all time, under whose flag and sovereignty the mightiest nation of the earth would be carried forward to a dreamless and endless destiny, have been considered.

I have been impressed, since the acquisition of this new territory as a result of the war with Spain, with the overshadowing necessity of considering the question with faultless accuracy. What we may do is not to be the work of an hour, nor can it be undone by subsequent legislation or executive order, but it is to stand for all time and involves for final weal or woe the present inhabitants of the United States and those of the new territory, as well as those of countless generations to succeed. If, unfortunately, we shall authoritatively express a conclusion that would cause our country to be overrun by a horde of alien peoples in no manner capable of using or enjoying the bless-

ings and privileges of self-government, or of maintaining them when won by others, whose presence and influence would deteriorate or injure the nation, ultimately wrecking the Constitution and destroying our political institutions, a horde of people unassimilable by reason of turbid and passionate natures, the consequences would be fearful to the happiness and progress of the world, and we would be justly chargeable with inexcusable incompetency to deal with the question.

The Government of the United States was erected for all ages. It was established through the agitation, struggle, and bloodshed of those who had been seeking for generations the formation of political institutions where individual independence, action, and thought would have the largest field of operation. The doctrine of the divine right of kings to rule was for the first time in the history of the world ignored and set aside, after a revolution lasting over seven years and prosecuted under discouraging circumstances, but which, aided by Divine Providence, eventually resulted in the dismemberment of that people from the mother country and from her political institutions. For the first time in all history the right of every human being, by virtue of his birth, to govern himself and indirectly exercise sovereignty in the conduct of the affairs of his Government, helping to shape its policies and to mold its institutions, was announced.

Europe, horrified at this declaration, expressed free and frequent opinions that a government by the people could not long exist, and that, amid warring factions, turbulent multitudes, and the incompetency of those intrusted with the immediate exercise of sovereignty, it would fall and be succeeded by an aristocracy, an oligarchy, or even monarchy itself. It has been the pride of every American citizen that the political

institutions erected by the fathers of the Republic for the benefit of themselves and their posterity have survived, and that by the exercise of a high degree of intelligence and deliberation, caution, patriotism, and moderation, it will be within the power of the people to reorganize the authority of the Republic on higher and broader principles and place it in a position where the least restraint shall be exercised over the people consistent with public peace, good order, and safety.

We should not, in discussing the questions presented by these resolutions, forget these facts, and nothing should be done that would in the slightest degree militate against or imperil our institutions.

But the first question presented for consideration is one of naked constitutional power of acquiring territory and the extension thereover of the provisions of the Constitution to the inhabitants at the moment of its acquisition. I must admit, although familiar in a general way with the history of the formation and great purpose of the Constitution, that when I first began examining this question and the policy and course of the Government I found myself, as I supposed, unalterably arrayed against it.

I had held, as I think all will agree, that this being a government of enumerated powers, written and implied, the doctrine of limitation extends to our foreign relations as well as to our domestic institutions, and that a power not classified with one or the other of these does not exist, and I am inclined to think that this was the earlier opinion of those who participated directly in laying the foundation of the Republic. But I am now convinced that I was wrong in so far as the exercise of constitutional power with foreign nations, or in the acquisition of additional territory is concerned. Whether or not the great lawyers, patriots, and statesmen who drafted and adopted the Declara-

tion of Independence, and those who submitted the Constitution of the United States, as well as many of its amendments to the people, clearly understood the power that was being granted to the nation, so far as its foreign relations are concerned, it must, I think, be admitted that express grants were made that gave the United States as full and perfect sovereignty in our relations with foreign countries and foreign people as would or could be possessed or exercised by the most absolute kingdom or monarchy of earth.

Doubtless it was not believed by many in the early history of the Government and during the period covered by the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence, the formation of the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution, that we would ever extend our jurisdiction over the entire Temperate Zone of America, and few dreamed that a powerful and compact nation with limitless commerce and agriculture and with complex industries would eventually extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

There may have been those who hoped for that time, and therefore it is consonant with the truth to say that it may have been anticipated, if such an event should happen, that Congress should have power to admit new States "into this Union," and "dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and all other property belonging to the United States."

It seems to me that it cannot, in the light of the amendments to the Constitution, be denied that the United States possesses this power. There was a time in the history of this Government when the status of an American citizen was uncertain; there was a time when the question was mooted whether there could be a citizen of the United States separate and distinct from his citizenship of a State. I say the question

was at least unsettled. There were jurists of national reputation, high in authority, who held that every man acquired his citizenship of the United States by and through the fact that he was a citizen of some State, while on the other hand, there were those equally high in authority, and whose opinions were of equal weight, who held that the Constitution, regardless of the amendments, created the distinct character of a citizen of the United States independently of the State or Territory in which the individual resided.

In the light of amendments to the Constitution, I think there can be no longer any question respecting the status of a citizen; but I desire to refer to and read section 3, Article IV, of the Constitution, which says:

> New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The words of that section are general. "New States," so it says, "may be admitted by the Congress into this Union;" and then the section immediately limits the general language employed, providing "but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress."

From what territory was it anticipated that new States should be formed? The colonies had certain possessions at the time of the formation of the Constitution. If new States could not be erected out of the States already in existence or by the consolidation of States or parts of States without their consent, and without the consent of Congress, where was the Government to look for the territory it could admit as new States into the Union? I cannot and do not

believe it was in the minds of the great men who framed this great charter of our liberty that the territorial dominion and jurisdiction of this Government should be limited to the thirteen States east of the Allegheny Mountains. I believe that Washington and his compatriots looked west of the Alleghenies and across this continent to the Pacific Ocean, and that the great men who penned this immortal instrument had it in their minds that this Government would grow to a point where it would be necessary and proper to annex new territory and to admit new States.

I turn briefly to paragraph 2 of same section of the Constitution:

> The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States.

What territory was meant by this provision of the Constitution? Was it intended that Congress should have power to make rules and regulations for governing the territory embraced in the States? Certainly not. Each of the States had a perfect government of its own, exercising every conceivable power an independent government could exercise, except in those cases where the States granted power to the General Government, and where by the adoption of the Constitution they had restrained themselves from the exercise of power; in other words, when the Government of the United States was created, the thirteen original States carved out of their otherwise unrestricted sovereignty certain powers which they conferred on the General Government, and restrained themselves from the exercise of certain other powers, and with those exceptions each State to-day can exercise all the power of the most independent and absolute government of earth.

I must necessarily be brief in the remarks I am to make; but I cannot resist the temptation of calling attention to a remarkable statement of the senior Senator from Ohio in his speech the other day, when he declared that the Declaration of Independence was simply a bill of complaint, or a bill enumerating certain grievances against the British Crown.

I am not too old to learn; I learn daily; and I hope during the years that may be allotted to me on earth I may never grow so old and inattentive to duty as not to learn hour by hour; and yet I have supposed throughout all the years of my life that the Declaration of Independence is the first great charter of American liberty. It was not the beginning of government; it was the first crystallization in the form of a written document of certain well-known and generally accepted doctrines held in this country in colonial days; it was the first defiance that was hurled in the face of England and continental Europe by the colonists who inhabited this country. It was not and is not simply a bill of complaint against the English Government. Let me read a paragraph from it. Said the Continental Congress:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

That does not sound like a mere bill of complaint against the English Government. It was the announcement of principles that are as deathless as the sun and as eternal as the rock-ribbed earth. I say in this splendid presence this day that I hold to the doctrine that every human being is born with the

right to rule and control himself, if capable. I cannot understand how, through the ages that have passed, any man could be found of such indifferent or weak intellect that he could have reached a different belief.

It is as much the right of a Filipino to govern himself, if he is capable of doing so, as it is the right of an American citizen to do so. This doctrine is not confined to the people of the United States. It extends, according to the language, to all men, wherever found; yet the Senator from Ohio would have this great document mean no more than a mere bill of complaint against the English Crown!

Nor can I agree with the Senator from Connecticut, who announced the startling doctrine in this Chamber that it was the right of "some of the governed" to participate in the government. That, too, is a novel and startling proposition. Where is the line of demarkation to be drawn? Our ancestors said it was the inalienable right of all men to participate in their government. There was no restriction, no limitation. All, so they said, were entitled to this blessing; and yet in the Senate of the United States the monstrous doctrine is advanced that a few men alone are entitled to participate in the government. Where, I ask again, is the line of demarkation to be drawn? Is it to be placed on religious, on political, on personal, or on educational ground? No, the doctrine was monstrous in its conception and it would be disastrous in its consequences if applied.

I desire to call attention to a remark of the senior Senator from Virginia, made on Saturday last, presenting an argument with which I cannot agree and in which I do not concur. That Senator said that the power to acquire territory exists as incident to the war-making power, which is correct, and then

he said territory could be acquired by treaty and by cession. There are but two ways to acquire territory under the Constitution—one as an incident of the war-making power and the other by virtue of the treaty-making power. What is a cession but a treaty? It is, as the law books say, a treaty of cession, just as we speak of a treaty of commerce or a treaty of amity and peace. There is no way known among men, under a government like ours, of acquiring territory except as an incident of the power to make war and by virtue of the power to make treaties with foreign nations.

The Senator said the difference between a treaty and a cession was this: That a treaty carried with it certain inter-dependent obligations binding upon both parties, while a cession was no more than a deed of quittance or a release to the party receiving it. That is like the impossible distinction made by some law writers between a bilateral and a unilateral contract. You can scarcely open a law book that treats on the subject of contracts that you will not find refinements and distinctions between a bilateral and a unilateral contract; and yet, in my judgment, there is not the slightest distinction between such contracts, for every contract, whether it be signed, every contract, whether it be partly in writing or rests partly in parole, is a contract that carries with it obligations and duties on the part of the respective parties. So, I assert again that the sole power possessed by this Government to acquire territory is by virtue of the war-making power and the treaty-making power.

I have no doubt, as declared by the resolutions under consideration, that in permanently acquiring territory we would do so with the view of incorporating its inhabitants into our population as citizens. All through

the history of our acquisition of territory, beginning with Louisiana in 1803 and ending with the Hawaiian Islands, our ancestors have understood, and we, too, that we hold the acquired territory in trust for statehood. So our law writers and so our jurists have declared from time to time. We have no power, in my judgment, to hold the Filipinos as vassals. We have no right to deprive them, whatever they may be, of the right of self-government if they desire it. It would be ruinous, in my judgment, if we sought to do so.

We are confronted to-day in our own country with a great race problem, that must be solved soon if it is not to bring us trouble. We have conditions existing in certain sections of the Union that can not always continue. It will be the part of wise and conservative statesmanship for the American statesmen to deal with this problem in a few years. Are we now prepared, under these circumstances, to take within our population 12,000,000 people alien in race, alien in language and in purposes to a great popular government like ours? I challenge any gentleman on this floor on either side of the Chamber, I care not who he may be, to point out the authority this Government would have, when the Philippines are annexed to the United States, to restrict the expatriation of those people and their immigration here. There is no power to prevent it. The moment we permanently annex those islands to this country and they become a district or a Territory of the United States, that moment we extend our jurisdiction over them and over the people, and those people will have as much right to come into the District of Columbia or to settle in any State of this Union as I have to pass from Nebraska to Iowa or any other part of our common country.

It may be that there is a sinister motive in this; it may be that there are those who contemplate the rapid approach of the time when this debased population can be brought here and thrown in deadly contact with the laboring men of our country. I ask the Republicans of this Chamber what will become of your tariff laws under such circumstances? You have said to the laboring man of this country for more than a quarter of a century that a protective tariff is a blessing to him. You have made many of them believe it. Of course it was never intended to benefit the manufacturer, according to your argument. The manufacturer, the man who reaps the benefit from a protective tariff, has been sedulously excluded from the argument; but the tariff was to reach its strong arms around the laboring men and protect them and their families.

You said to them in 1896 that you wanted this country protected from the pauper laborer of Europe and the manufactured articles of pauper labor, and yet by annexation you will open wide the door to an endless horde of nondescript population that can come to your very doors in spite of all you can do, in deadly contact with the laborer of this country, debasing the civilization of himself and his family. You will simply move the factory from the United States to Manila and the Hawaiian Islands. And what, too, will become of the Chinese-exclusion acts? They will be swept away and a resistless tide of cheap labor admitted.

I may disagree with the distinguished gentleman who is at the head of this Government at the present time, as I do. But, I do it honestly, because I believe many of his policies are wrong. I am not to be driven from my position because some portion of my constituency may not approve of my views.

SOME OF THE NATIVES OF PAMPANGA ISLAND.

I would rather take my station in the obscurest community of my State and devote the remainder of my life to eking out an existence by the most onerous manual labor than to surrender to any man, high or low, or to any organization or party, an honest, conscientious conviction of duty.

We must not shut our eyes to the dangers that confront us. Let it be once understood that we are to abandon the domestic policy that has been ours throughout the years of our national existence and embark on the uncertain sea of imperialism, to become "a power," whatever that may be, of the world, and our institutions that have been held dear for more than a century and a quarter, our flag that has floated in triumph over every foot of our common country and that has ridden the storms of the sea in triumph and in glory will be hauled down not only in Manila, but in this country as well. Can we afford to take the risk? Can we afford to incur the danger?

I hold that the foreign policy to be pursued by this Government must inevitably be a policy incident to and in aid of a strong domestic government. Such was the declaration of Hamilton himself. It was said in one of his articles in the Federalist that in the very nature of things a republic can never have an aggressive foreign policy. He said its safety was to be found in its isolation and in its compactness, for, said that great man further, in a republic like the United States, where the administration is changing every four years, a policy that is aggressive, that believes in the forcible colonization of other lands, may, by the election of a Chief Magistrate holding different views, be overturned and changed.

The news has come to us within the last few hours of a conflict between the American Army and Navy and the Filipinos. To my own State has fallen much

of the loss of life and limb. Ten out of twenty of the young men who lost their lives in the battle that has been fought in the last forty-eight hours were members of the First Nebraska Infantry. There is mourning in Nebraska to-day; there will be weeping at the hearthstone of many a Nebraska home to-night. This ought to be a warning to us.

We are in the Philippine Islands as a conquering military power. We hold them to-day by virtue of the power to make war, and in no other sense, and there those islands and those people must remain respecting the law, respecting the dignity and the sovereignty and the flag of this nation until their status among the nations of the earth shall be defined. But if we are to hold them, if in time they are to come completely within our jurisdiction, we must not refuse them the ordinary privileges and immunities of an American citizen.

If prayer be a sincere desire of the human heart, I fervently pray that this great danger may be averted and this complex question may be solved in justice and in honor to our nation and in justice and in honor to the conquered. Those islands and those people must not be surrendered to Spain. Spain has lost her jurisdiction over them and over the islands of the Western Hemisphere forever. God grant the day may speedily come when Spain, unless she changes her civilization, shall be blotted from the map of nations. God grant the day when the Filipinos and the inhabitants of Porto Rico and Cuba may rise to a true conception of the duties and obligations of citizenship; when they, too, with the encouragement of this great and powerful Republic, shall take their station among the civilized republics and peoples of the earth.

CHAPTER XIX.

"LEST WE FORGET."

BY CHARLES A. TOWNE,

EX-REPRESENTATIVE OF CONGRESS FROM MINNESOTA.

Not so much by formal provision of law as by the grateful and reverent affection of the American people, this anniversary is consecrated to the memory of Washington. A name not unknown or unadored in the world that is even older yet, though it make our newest problems for us, for out of Asia comes to-day a cry startling the silence of abysmal centuries and echoing a prophecy of long ago, when our Aryan progenitors began their restless progress round the globe, the cry of a struggling people imploring the freedom wherewith we ourselves are free and invoking the venerated shade of Washington to witness between us and them.

This day, 167 years ago, George Washington was born, and ere this year be passed time will have marched a century from his grave. It is my humble but firm opinion that not since his death has the advent of his birthday been marked by circumstances so novel, so interesting, so momentous and sinister as now. Not in all that time has there arisen a crisis in the history of this country so needful of his wisdom, so apt to his counsel, and so menacing to his glory, as that which to-day confronts the Republic that was founded by his valor and that has touched the heights of greatness through obedience to his precepts.

Profoundly convinced that as a democracy we have reached the parting of the ways, and that upon the decision by the American people of problems now imminent depends the future weal or woe of our country, and hence that of the human race for ages to come, I propose to speak out plainly and emphatically as to what, in my judgment, the present situation is and means and as to what it is incumbent on the citizens to do in respect of it. I adopt this course the more freely to-day, inasmuch as the main question has not yet become a partisan issue and thus rendered, as to many persons, unapproachable by honest inquiry and insusceptible of unprejudiced consideration; albeit, as I have observed with infinite regret, a very great number of people have already jumped at conclusions in this important matter, actuated solely by what seemed to be from day to day the tendency of their party leadership.

I am quite aware, my friends, that by a considerable proportion of the public press the language of distrust of present tendencies is ridiculed as a form of hysteria or denounced as an attack on the Government, and that a man who ventures to raise a cry of warning is either charitably characterized as a fit candidate for a lunatic asylum or violently assailed as an enemy of his country. It has been long, however, since such opposition lost its terrors for me; and I shall bear with cheerful resignation my share of whatever opprobrium shall continue to be heaped upon those, who on this subject, are outspoken and resolute.

It is usually difficult to estimate the drift and force of the currents of social and political change. Their ordinary flow is so still and regular as not to attract the attention of any but the closest observer, so that

his accounts of the results of his observations are met with general apathy or incredulity. But now and then events occur that so accelerate the speed of tendencies as to make them obvious to common scrutiny. Wars, for example, are such events. It is as if suddenly the restraint of banks and counter currents were swept away and the dominant flow became a torrent. At such a time there is need of cool heads. The general disposition is to go with the stream, and those who before drifted unconscious of direction now madly abandon themselves to the course, calling it Providence and themselves the children of destiny.

Edmund Burke once said that no war ever leaves a nation where it found it. This is true in many ways, but in none more significantly than in respect of the dispositions and even the inherited instincts of men. A forceful illustration is the recent war with Spain. Thousands of humdrum citizens to whom one little year ago even Porto Rico seemed far beyond our natural sphere of influence, are to-day clamoring for the annexation of the Philippines, whose geographical whereabouts were then no better known to them than those of the Islands of the Blest, and about which even now many of them have notions very little more definite than is their knowledge of Swat or Timbuctoo. A few, indeed, there are among us that not long ago, considering the multiplying difficulties of industrial and economic problems, were gravely doubtful of the ability of democratic institutions to maintain themselves on this continent, but who now, led by what reasoning and justified by what consistency I know not, are eager to complicate an already desperate situation with a whole hemisphere of novel perils.

An American Senate that solemnly declared less than a year since that our occupation of Cuba, the

very territory which was the subject and the inevitable theater of war, should be confined to the pacification of the island, refused a few days ago to give its assent to a straightforward resolution disclaiming any intention to exercise permanent sovereignty in the Philippines, which were in no way associated with the cause of the war and only incidentally involved in its prosecution.

An American President who, in April, 1898, went reluctantly to war for the liberation of one people, proclaimed in January, 1899, the subjugation "by conquest" of another people, and is to-day engaged by sea and land in forcing the authority of this great Government upon an inoffensive race struggling to be free and vainly interposing between their naked bodies and our merciless guns the familiar and once respected guaranties of the Declaration of Independence.

Ah! what a fall is here, my countrymen. Within the circuit of a single year to have declined from the moral leadership of mankind into the common brigandage of the robber nations of the world.

The contest out of which it is claimed there comes to us this Christian duty of slaughter and subjugation began nobly. Not since the devoted manhood of Europe in holy enthusiasm vowed to redeem the tomb of the Saviour from the pollution of the infidel has history witnessed so chivalrous and unselfish a war as that which was commenced by the people of the United States to free the island of Cuba from the tyranny of Spain. It was not to be a war of conquest. Orators in and out of Congress pictured in glowing colors the disinterestedness of our action. The newspapers vied with one another in strengthening the doctrine of international law justifying intervention on grounds of humanity. The pulpit added its fervid sanction to the high resolves of the new crusade.

In the resolutions that practically constituted a declaration of war the purpose of this Government was clearly expressed to be the expulsion of all Spanish authority from Cuba and the achievement of the freedom and independence of the island; and the famous fourth resolution was as follows:

> That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

The brave deeds of our soldiers and sailors that followed this declaration shone with a special glory because of it. For it is the object of a war that characterizes it. Unjust wars are never glorious. While it is true that the history of warfare on the land records few finer exhibitions of personal bravery than those witnessed on the hill of San Juan, and that the naval battles of Manila and Santiago will sustain comparison with the most famous engagements of the greatest captains of the sea, yet succeeding ages will recall that what, in the ability and heroism of Dewey and Schley and Roosevelt and their brave associates, added a new title to the grateful remembrance of mankind was the consciousness of facing death in every awful form to win the prize of liberty for an alien people. Let us make them secure in this high heritage. Let us see to it that the chaplets placed upon their brows by the genius of self-sacrifice be not withered by the touch of greed or stained with the blood of innocence.

The possession of the Philippine Islands was in no way necessary to the success of the war nor within its purpose. Admiral Dewey went to Manila in pursuance of his well-known instructions to "find the Spanish fleet and destroy it." In his subsequent oper-

ations he was assisted by the insurgent Filipinos, who were engaged, like the rebels of Cuba, in an effort to throw off the yoke of Spain, if possible a more heavy burden and a more odious tyranny in the Philippines than in the Antilles.

Said Admiral Dewey on the 27th of June: "I have given the insurgents to understand that I consider them as friends, because we oppose a mutual enemy." The publications of the Government show beyond all cavil that, whatever mental reservations the Washington authorities may have found it consistent with their ideas of honorable diplomacy to entertain, our representatives immediately in contact with Emilio Aguinaldo and his coadjutors treated the insurrectionists as allies and that we were honorably bound to respect the relation. Such was the situation when they organized a government, declared themselves free and independent, adopted a constitution, raised and maintained an army, collected revenues, conducted military operations according to the laws of war, and captured and held many thousands of Spanish prisoners. During all this time they made no mystery of the sacred object of their endeavor. They were striving for independence, for the overthrow of the Spanish power and the establishment of a Philippine republic. They eagerly welcomed the sailors and soldiers of the United States, and gladly accepted and returned our assistance. My friends, if under such circumstances we harbored against our allies a secret intention of snatching from their grasp the hard-won reward of all their suffering and valor as soon as it should come within their reach; if we deceived and profited by their confidence only to force upon them the milder though scarcely less welcome overlordship of the United States in the place of the Spanish despot-

ism they rebelled against; if, in short, we led these people up to a near view of freedom only at last to give them a change of masters, then may God forgive us and in some way shield us from the retribution we deserve and that all history teaches us we must else receive! For such an act would be worse than Punic faith, a deed without a name, in the presence of which the garnered trophies of a hundred years would fall to ashes and the sun of the Republic set in blackness forever.

The peace protocol was signed August 12, 1898, and by it, while Spain expressed a willingness to relinquish her sovereignty over Cuba and to cede Porto Rico to the United States, which points were subsequently confirmed by the treaty, the following provision was made as to the Philippines:

> Art. 3. The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

Thus, until the matter should be finally settled by the treaty of peace, the status of the parties in the Philippines was determined by the protocol and fixed as of its date, August 12. The attack by the troops of the United States upon the city was not made until the next day, August 13, and the formal capitulation occurred on the 15th. Whatever under other circumstances might have been the effect of the capture of the city of Manila upon the sovereignty of the entire group of islands, and whether or not it would have passed that sovereignty to the United States, it is clear that after the execution of the protocol the capture could not possibly confer any rights beyond the provisional occupation of the city, the bay, and the harbor of Manila. When, therefore, the President of the United States says, as he recently has said, that our

possession of the Philippine Islands rests upon the "right of conquest," he is certainly in error. When he signed the protocol he expressly bound this country to determine the ultimate fate of those islands by negotiation. Such, as a matter of fact, is the manner in which it has been done. Article III of the treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898, "cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands;" and that it may more clearly appear to have been the result of "negotiation" rather than of "conquest," the same article of the treaty provides for the payment to Spain of $20,000,000 out of the Treasury of the United States. It is all "hire and salary, not revenge." We have not wrested the Filipinos from Spain; we have bought them. Theirs is not even the poor satisfaction of figuring among the spoils of honorable war. They are the sorry chattels of a higgling bargain and sale between the bankrupt monarchy of Charles V and the recreant Republic of George Washington.

The condition of affairs in the Philippine Islands at this moment constitutes an ineffaceable stain upon the honor of this country. Having bought out the shadowy and unstable authority of Spain we have succeeded to her equity in this rebellion, or rather let us say to her inequity, for we have long since given full recognition of the justice of the rebellion. Oh! the magic power of gold. By paying $20,000,000 of it we have transformed patriotism into treason, our allies into rebels. The very men whose aspirations for liberty a few short months ago we supported with our Army and Navy we are to-day engaged in shooting to death. By the light of the burning villages about Manila and of Iloilo let us read the following language from the President's proclamation made public by

General Otis on the 5th of last month: "The mission of the United States is one of beneficent assimilation." And in confirmation of this benevolent disposition let us read again from his Cuban message of April 11, 1898: "I speak not of forcible annexation, for that can not be thought of; that, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression." For saying this and then doing what we have done we shall hardly escape the revenges of history.

But it is said that the present hostilities were begun by the Filipinos. The facts are not quite so well authenticated as could be wished, especially in view of the claim of Agoncillo that the Americans were the aggressors and precipitated the difficulty for the purpose of influencing the then pending vote in the United States Senate on the treaty ratification, and considering also the vigilant censorship of the cable maintained by our military authorities. But accepting the statement as true, where rests the ultimate responsibility? Does it not lie against us for not having long before given to the people of those islands an assurance that they should have the right of instituting and maintaining a government of their own? That is what they have been fighting Spain for. That is the only thing they desire. Why was not the assurance given? My answer is, because the powers that be in this country did not intend to allow the Filipinos to govern themselves, and will never hereafter grant them their independence unless compelled to do so by the liberty-loving people of the United States.

What are the evidences of this? The hurrying of reinforcements to the Philippines, the negotiation of a treaty providing for the cession to us of sovereignty over the islands; the persistent refusal of the Government to make any definite announcement of a policy

when a word consistent with the natural and just expectations of our former allies would have been a perfect guaranty of peace; the reiterated demand of the President and certain Senators to know who would "haul down the flag;" and the refusal of the Senate to pass a simple resolution similar to that in which, at the outbreak of the war, assurance was given to Cuba that we would not exercise permanent jurisdiction in that island but would withdraw upon the accomplishment of its pacification and leave its government and control to its people. Such a proclamation even now by the Executive of this Government, or, better yet, a declaration to that effect in a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress, signed by the President, would instantly re-establish peace in the distracted Philippines.

But such a procedure would interfere with the programme which, wherever it originated, seems now tolerably well determined upon. It is proposed to establish a colonial empire founded upon force and maintained by military occupation. Governor Roosevelt says that the Filipinos "must be made to realize absolutely that we are their masters." General Merritt is reported as saying: "We must go at the matter systematically and whip them so soundly that they will make no further question of the ability of the United States to do what she pleases." He adds: "I believe that we should adopt the English colonial system. * * * The Filipinos should be ruled over by a military resident or governor, having practically absolute power." Senator Davis, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and one of the Paris peace commissioners, has also declared that in his judgment the government of the Philippines should be along the general lines of that of the English crown colonies.

Nobody proposes to form states out of these islands nor to erect them into Territories preparatorily to statehood. Situated in the Tropics they can never become colonies in the true sense, because our people can not occupy and possess them. The only alternative to granting them their freedom and the right, subject to a limited protectorate by the United States, to establish and maintain a government of their own, is to hold them indefinitely as a subject nation—as a dependency under military control.

The objections to any such system are numerous and very serious, although the present occasion will permit reference to only a few of them. Waiving now the question of power, although I think it plain that under the Constitution there is no authority in the Government of the United States to establish a colonial system, overwhelming considerations of the highest duty and expediency seem to me absolutely to condemn the project and to counsel the obligation, wisdom, and advantage of permitting the Filipinos to organize and maintain a free, stable, and independent government of their own under the protectorate of the United States.

It is not too late to do this. The unfortunate breaking out of hostilities between us and them does not commit us to the extermination of the Filipinos. It is never too late to be just. There is no obligation upon this great nation, such as might to an inconsequential state seem to arise out of a false sense of pride, to carry on the slaughter already begun. It is still possible to listen to the dictates of humanity, and it ought to be easy to do so when humanity squares with interest. The ratification of the treaty, now practically complete except as to the exchange of formalities, has made the question a domestic one. In his speech at

Boston the other night the President said that the subject now rests with the American people; and surely we should be broad enough and big enough to deal with it in a spirit of sobriety and righteousness. There is a disposition in some quarters to regard the whole matter as finally disposed of by the formal acceptance of sovereignty over the Philippines under the treaty; and unquestionably it well suits the designs of certain persons to propagate that impression as widely as possible. But this status can not be permitted to remain. The conscience of our people will revolt against a war of "criminal aggression" in the Philippines. Even they who counseled violence in the beginning will be compelled by awakening public sentiment to accept accommodation by and by, making merit of a tardy virtue in the spirit of that character of Euripides who says, "If it be needful to resort to injustice in order to attain power, let us have recourse to it; but under all other circumstances let us be honest."

The whole scheme of colonialism is out of harmony with our institutions. It belongs to imperialism, not to republicanism. No republic ever ruled colonies otherwise than oppressively. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the attempt led to the downfall of the Athenian democracy and transformed the Republic of Rome into an empire. There would be an infinite demoralization to domestic peace and progress in the contemplation of a portion of our domain cut off from the privileges of liberty and the rights of self-government. Every advance that freedom has ever made has been gained by sacrifice and maintained only by vigilance. History and analogy teach us that tyranny would sooner travel from the Philippines to the United States than liberty would travel from the United States

to the Philippines. It is amazing to notice to what an extent even the tentative establishment of absolutism in the Philippines has corrupted public sentiment at home. It has already lowered the high ideals of the olden time. It has taught many of us a new language, the language of the despot and the bully. Mr. Murat Halstead, a distinguished newspaper writer and public educator, after a visit to the islands, gave a careful estimate of the difficulties of governing them, and declared that in his judgment a relatively small army "could hold the Filipinos in subjection." One of our great newspapers quotes a prominent army officer, lately returned from the Philippines, as declaring it to be necessary for us to sweep the inhabitants into the sea. The illustrious chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate recently said in a speech, referring to the Filipinos: "I would bring them up tenderly, but in chastisement, if we must."

Upon reflection it must seem to all of us monstrous that men living in the Great Republic, and after a hundred years of the benign and salutary sway of our Constitution, can use language like that which I have quoted. Why, our fathers, in words that rang around the world and, even if we prove recreant, shall echo through all time, declared that the power which it is now proposed we should use over the Filipinos can never, under any circumstances, be rightfully exercised by anybody over anybody else. Almost every line of the Declaration of Independence is an indictment against this proposed system of misgovernment in the Philippine Islands.

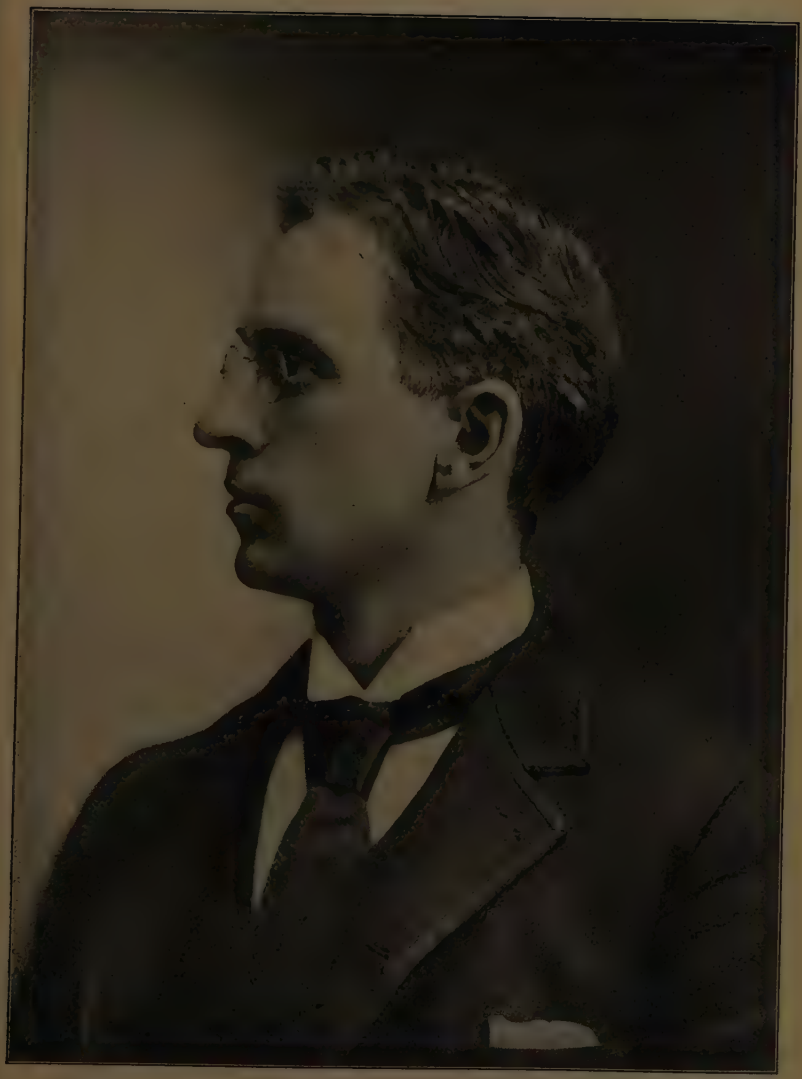
Thoughtful men can not have failed to notice, what has seemed to me a most unhappily significant thing, to what lengths some of our American statesmen have gone in an anxiety to construe the Constitution as

authorizing the acquisition and government of dependencies wholly without restraint and as clothing Congress and the President with a power as absolute as despotism itself. Is it not ominous, the bare fact that men feel impelled to make an argument like that? It must be that they have forgotten how and why the Constitution was framed and upon what theory it rests. In the preamble of that instrument the purpose of the exercise of all the powers conferred by it was stated in the following memorable words:

> To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity.

A distinguished judge of the United States Supreme Court has said, in rendering a decision of that tribunal, that it is always safe to read the letter of the Constitution in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. How will the advocates of the employment of an irresponsible rule over the Philippines justify their attitude in the face of the sublime and inspired proposition that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and of the limitation of the authority of the National Government to the broad and beneficent objects recited in the preamble?

The tendency to which I have just referred goes far to justify the apprehensions of those people who regard it as not widely impossible that gradual abuses of power must ultimately lead not only to the destruction of the guaranties of our constitutional liberty, but to an actual assumption by the Government of imperial forms. There is not, indeed, much difference between the statement of some of our eminent generals respecting the necessity of a magnificent and crushing exercise of force over the Filipinos in order to impress them sufficiently with a conception of the hope-



Charles A. Dorsey

lessness of resistance, and the following statement of Beaconsfield in the House of Lords in support of his bill to confer upon Queen Victoria the title of Empress of India:

> It is only by the amplification of titles that you can often touch and satisfy the imagination of nations, and that is an element which governments must not despise.

There is also noticeable a growing disposition to magnify the office of the Presidency. All will recall how Congress at the beginning of hostilities with Spain voted the sum of $50,000,000 to the President to be expended absolutely at his discretion; and it is only a few days since that Representative of the Congressional majority proposed to clothe the Chief Magistrate with the discretionary powers of determining whether the Standing Army should consist of 50,000 or 100,000 men. Nothing has been more common in the course of the recent debates, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, than for prominent statesmen to attempt to explain the absence of any legislative plan of action by the fact that the President has not yet declared his policy. This last circumstance is but one example of many that might be offered to exhibit the gradual and, in the aggregate, tremendous aggrandizement of the power of the President, a tendency very marked in recent years, and sufficiently ominous in the ordinary development of our democratic system. The question relates itself to far too large an inquiry for present consideration; but I desire earnestly to direct attention to it as fraught with the greatest future importance. While I desire not to be thought an alarmist, yet in my opinion the citizens of the country can not be too frequently reminded, in the language of an American adage, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and that

freemen can not view with too careful a jealousy even the slightest excess of constitutional authority.

To set up a colonial system is to be ready to trade peace for war, to surrender serenity and security for a state of armed anxiety and weakening incertitude. It is to mix up in alien quarrels, which we have deprecated always and with special emphasis of late, at precisely the time when by all indications they are about to culminate in the most colossal and destructive war of modern times. Not long ago, at the lord mayor's banquet in London, Lord Salisbury declared that the advent of the United States into Old World diplomacy would greatly strengthen England, but his lordship added that he was sorry that, in his opinion, it did not improve the prospects of peace. The sensitive storm center is in the East, and into the very midst of it we should be led by this fatuous policy of empire.

The imperial policy will necessitate a vast increase in our naval establishment and, especially and most serious, the creation and maintenance of a great standing army. Nothing can excuse the apparent indifference of a large part of our people to this consideration. The men from whom we drew our political lineage were exceedingly apprehensive of the danger to free institutions that always lurks in a large standing army. Washington not only voiced the sentiment of his time, but one of the lessons of all history, when in his Farewell Address he said:

> Avoid the necessity of these overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty.

How discouraging to the hopeful lover of peace it is to witness the United States, hitherto the great exemplar of peace, preparing to undertake the ruinous burden of standing armies just when Europe is about

to go into counsel over disarmament, and to see her putting on the helmet of Mars at the very time when the Czar, the War Lord of the North, is inviting the nations to the Temple of Concord.

This dream of empire can not be realized without a prodigious increase in the expenses of the Government, to be borne with difficulty by the people without recompense through any corresponding advantage. The best authority fixes the proportions of this imperial increment at about $200,000,000 a year. Inasmuch as the cost of our war with Spain was not far from $175,000,000, the anomalous conclusion is reached that it would be cheaper for us by $25,000,000 a year to fight for peace than to maintain it after we get it. These figures should prove interesting reading for the people of this country who witness the expenditures of National Government mounting fast toward $2,000,000,000 per Congress, and who have recently been authoritatively assured that the so-called "war taxes" must continue indefinitely, and that, notwithstanding the raising of more than $170,000,000 in this manner and the sale of $200,000,000 of bonds, there will be a deficit in the national revenues at the end of the present fiscal year close to $180,000,000.

The interest of labor in this great subject is important and immediate; and the leaders of that peaceable and powerful army do well to attack this imperial programme now instead of waiting until they are actually confronted by questions arising out of the immigration of cheap oriental workmen from our new possessions, or presented by the importation from thence of goods made in American factories in the Philippines to compete in our market at home with the products of the toil and skill of American freemen.

But the chief and all-sufficient reason, as it seems

to me, why it is unspeakable folly for the United States to erect a permanent colonial dependency in the Philippine Islands is that it will distract our attention from the study and solution of the gravest social, economic, and industrial problems in our domestic life, and must needlessly multiply the tasks of democratic government at exactly the time when, in its natural development, it is being subjected to a crucial strain.

We are constantly reminded by writers of great learning and insight, like the historian Lecky, Sir Henry, Maine, Mr. E. L. Godkin, and Professor Hyslop, that democracy is still in the experimental stage. It seems to me a folly bordering on lunacy that men should now soberly propose to add the burdens that have invariably crushed every other republic in the history of the world that assumed them to those under which the people of this country are already staggering, doubtful of solving them to the credit and glory of democratic institutions. Their temerity will be appreciated if we barely enumerate, without pausing to discuss, some of the chief problems before which the genius of our Republic has already paused: Questions of municipal government; of just taxation; of the equitable distribution of produced wealth; of the administration of natural monopolies, and the control of artificial combinations of capital in trusts and otherwise, and the organization of labor; racial problems; and the abuses of our partisan political system with its evolution of boss tyranny, official irresponsibility, and public apathy. Until these questions are settled we have "room and verge enough" at home. Let us not be deceived by the specious plea of "duty." Our greatest, until we shall have made much more progress in them, practically our only, duty is with these im-

mediate, immense domestic problems; and not for ourselves alone, but for all mankind.

So far as I have observed, little attempt has been made in the way of affirmative argument by the advocates of the imperialistic programme. By so managing as to set the Government drifting inevitably toward their object, so that if nothing at all be done we shall find ourselves perforce in due time completely given over to their policy, they have shrewdly maneuvered the burden of proof upon their antagonists. When circumstances compel them to utterance, the results, if I may be permitted in all candor to say so, are exceedingly disappointing. It would seem as if so momentous a departure from our ancient and traditional policy ought to be justified by very weighty considerations. On the contrary, however, they are for the most part of such a character as to remind one, when observing the aspect and demonstrations of the audiences to whom they are addressed, of what Cleon said of the Athenian democracy under somewhat similar circumstances: "That as they listened to the orators for expansion they resembled men sitting to be amused by rhetoricians rather than deliberating on state affairs."

Vague mention is made by them of supposed commercial advantages to accrue to the United States from the acquisition of the Philippines. When it is remembered that the total foreign trade of the islands is only about $30,000,000 a year, and that under the so-called "open door" policy which the great commercial nations have introduced in their colonial management, and which we have already announced we propose to pursue, we can increase our share of this precisely as well without owning the islands as we can by owning them, and without any of the expense entailed by the

latter policy, this contention thins to a vanishing point. So far as Chinese and oriental trade in general is concerned, the maintenance of a coaling station in Luzon, which could easily be arranged, would afford all the facilities that full possession of the archipelago would give. Under modern colonial policies the tendency of trade is not, as it was in the era of navigation laws and similar monopoly regulations, to "follow the flag," but to seek the avenues of least resistance and of greatest profit to those conducting it. The way to augment our trade is to underseli our competitors, to increase the desirability of our goods, and to improve our consular arrangements and foreign business methods. Yankee ingenuity and mechanical skill, which have already trebled our exports to China during the last eight years, while England was doubling hers, will do infinitely more for our commerce than the costly purchase of a market of which we can possess no more after paying the price than would be freely ours without it.

It is said that the home market is overstocked; that there is a glut of all kinds of goods, due to overproduction, and that what the American citizen can not eat and wear must be worked off on the Malay and the Chinamen. Nothing better than this claim illustrates the baselessness of the imperialistic argument. I assert with all confidence that under a proper distribution of the burdens of government and opportunities of wealth in the United States no more of the comforts and luxuries of life can be created by American skill than can be profitably consumed and wisely enjoyed by American manhood, American womanhood and childhood. When men freeze at the mouth of the coal mine and starve in front of the bake shop, when the per capita consumption of wheat decreases as popu-

lation multiplies, when millions of our citizens lack roof and raiment, to say that there is an overproduction of the necessaries of life is both an economic absurdity and an arraignment of our American civilization at the bar of humanity and justice.

The attempt is made to fire the imagination of the people with much talk of the opportunity now presented to us of becoming a "world power." Why, my friends, what is it to be a "world power?" Is it not to be a power in the world; and if so, where is there a greater "world power" than the United States, or than she has been for more than a hundred years? During all that time America has carried the torch that has lighted the pathway of liberty for the nations of the earth. Our reaction upon Europe has crumbled dynasties to dust and above the graves of privilege has reared republics and parliaments. Within that century nearly 500 constitutions have been born, none of which would have been possible but for ours. The South American Republics, not coddled into perpetual infancy, but defended in natural, self-taught, and therefore sure progress, have risen up and called us blessed. Wherever representative government has been planted, wherever new guaranties of personal security and political rights have been won, wherever religious liberty has widened and the freedom of the press increased, there has been witnessed the force of American example, which, though gentle as the "sweet influence of the Pleiades," speaks louder than the thunder of our guns and moves with more resistless might than armies.

And what can empire offer us for this? A rivalship with swaggering kingdoms seeking loot and license of their weaker neighbors, snatching our share of plunder that we do not need, marching back three centuries

over the fallen and shattered idols of our storied progress, earning the fear of every victim and the jealous hatred of every rival, where we might have retained the love of the one and at least the respect of the other.

One of the last of the sage observations of the great Bismarck was elicited by the prospect of the Spanish war. Said he:

> **The result of the war can not be wholesome to Europe or America. The United States will be forced to adopt an intermeddling policy leading to unavoidable friction. * * * The American change of front means retrogression, in the high sense of civilization. This is the main regrettable fact about the war.**

If, my friends, we do not resist and conquer the forces that are now setting toward an American empire in the eastern tropics, with its inevitable resultant imperialistic modification of our domestic institutions, the prophecy of Bismarck will surely become the judgment of history. It will be ours eternally to bear the odium of having stopped the car of progress and turned it backward. From so melancholy a reproach as that, it is, in my judgment, the duty of every true American to strive to the uttermost to save his country. To such high resolves, what time could give so deep and strong a sanction as the birthday of Washington? He was an American in every fiber of his being, devoted absolutely to his country, hopeful of her future, and profoundly attached to the Union under the Constitution. He believed in the legitimate growth of the United States, gave much time to the study of routes and waterways to the westward, along which he knew the tide of civilization was sure to set, and his prophetic vision foresaw the gradual assimilation of the continent by the spreading settlements from the earlier centers of population. Has the movement yet reached its limit? Is congested humanity

crowding us into the sea? Why, my friends, opportunities greater than all the orient, richer than "barbaric pearl and gold," await our enterprise, when it shall be disenthralled, within the present limits of the Republic. And when that shall have been subdued, the rest of this vast continent is ours by a law as certain in its result as it will be peaceable in its accomplishment. Were Washington alive to-day he would be to that extent an "expansionist;" but we may be sure that he who left to posterity the priceless political testament of the "Farewell Address" would as certainly and steadily have opposed imperialism in the form of a distant colonial dependency as he turned his back upon the offer of kingly power and "put away the crown."

As to the unavoidable accompaniment of an imperial policy in the way of alliances with other powers, his views have been left us in singular completeness and deliberation. The reasons on which they were based are as valid now as when he penned them. His utterance seems strangely prophetic of our present situation, and, though familiar from frequent citation, can not be recalled too often:

> Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. * * *
>
> The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.
>
> Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.
>
> Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly

hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interests, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

Ages and ages ago from the plains of Asia our Aryan forefathers turned their faces westward and entered upon that world-march whose record is the story of human progress. Their institutions grew as their journey lengthened, until at last we, their descendants, standing by the great sea from beyond whose farther shore their earth-round course began, are dowered with priceless constitutional liberties won by the struggles and sacrifices, the strenuous strife of muscle and brain and spirit, of six thousand years.

My friends, as we cross that ocean returning toward our ancestral home, what shall be our message to the peoples that were left behind? Shall it be peace or war, the cruelty and bondage of the empire or the friendship and freedom of the republic?

[Extract of address delivered on Washington's Birthday, 1899, at University of Michigan.]

CHAPTER XX.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

BY THE HONORABLE CARL SCHURZ.

By inviting me to address its faculty, its students, and its friends upon so distinguished an occasion, the University of Chicago has done me an honor for which I am profoundly grateful. I can prove that gratitude in no better way than by uttering with entire frankness my honest convictions on the great subject you have given me to discuss—a subject fraught with more momentous consequence than any ever submitted to the judgment of the American people since the foundation of our constitutional government.

It is proposed to embark this republic in a course of imperialistic policy by permanently annexing to it certain islands taken, or partly taken, from Spain in the late war. The matter is near its decision, but not yet decided. The peace treaty made at Paris is not yet ratified by the senate; but even if it were, the question whether those islands, although ceded by Spain, shall be permanently incorporated in the territory of the United States would still be open for final determination by Congress. As an open question therefore, I shall discuss it.

If ever, it behooves the American people to think and act with calm deliberation, for the character and future of the republic and the welfare of its people now living and yet to be born are in unprecedented jeopardy. To form a candid judgment of what this

republic has been, what it may become, and what it ought to be, let us first recall to our minds its condition before the recent Spanish War.

Our government was, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, the greatest American of his time, and the most genuine type of true Americanism, "the government of the people, by the people, and for the people." It was the noblest ambition of all true Americans to carry this democratic government to the highest degree of perfection and justice, in probity, in assured peace, in the security of human rights, in progressive civilization; to solve the problem of popular self-government on the grandest scale, and thus to make this republic the example and guiding-star of mankind.

We had invited the oppressed of all nations to find shelter here, and to enjoy with us the blessings of free institutions. They came by the millions. Some were not as welcome as others, but, under the assimilating force of American life in our temperate climate, which stimulates the working energies, nurses the spirit of orderly freedom, and thus favors the growth of democracies, they became good Americans, most in the first, all in the following generations. And so with all the blood-crossings caused by the motley immigration, we became a substantially homogeneous people, united by common political beliefs and ideals, by common interests, laws, and aspirations —in one word, a nation. Indeed, we were not without our difficulties and embarrassments, but only one of them, the race antagonism between the negroes and the whites, especially where the negroes live in mass, presents a problem which so far has baffled all efforts at practical solution in harmony with the spirit of our free institutions, and thus threatens complications of a grave character.

We gloried in the marvelous growth of our popula-

tion, wealth, power, and civilization, and in the incalculable richness of the resources of our country capable of harboring three times our present population, and of immeasurable further material development. Our commerce with the world abroad, although we had no colonies, and but a small navy, spread with unprecedented rapidity, capturing one foreign market after another, not only for the products of our farms, but also for many of those of our manufacturing industries, with prospects of indefinite extension.

Peace reigned within our borders, and there was not the faintest shadow of a danger of foreign attack. Our voice, whenever we chose to speak in the councils of nations, was listened to with respect, even the mightiest sea-power on occasion yielding to us a deference far beyond its habit in its intercourse with others. We were considered ultimately invincible, if not invulnerable, in our continental stronghold. It was our boast, not that we possessed great and costly armies and navies, but that we did not need any. This exceptional blessing was our pride, as it was the envy of the world. We looked down with pitying sympathy on other nations which submissively groaned under the burden of constantly increasing armaments, and we praised our good fortune for having saved us from so wretched a fate.

Such was our condition, such our beliefs and ideals, such our ambition and our pride, but a short year ago. Had the famous peace message of the Czar of Russia, with its protest against growing militarism and its plea for disarmament, reached us then, it would have been hailed with enthusiasm by every American as a triumph of our example. We might have claimed only that to our republic, and not to the Russian monarch, belonged the place of leadership in so great an onward step in the progress of civilization.

Then came the Spanish War. A few vigorous blows laid the feeble enemy helpless at our feet. The whole scene seemed to have suddenly changed. According to the solemn proclamation of our government, the war had been undertaken solely for the liberation of Cuba, as a war of humanity and not of conquest. But our easy victories had put conquest within our reach, and when our arms occupied foreign territory, a loud demand arose that, pledge or no pledge to the contrary, the conquests should be kept, even the Philippines on the other side of the globe, and that as to Cuba herself, independence would be only a provisional formality. Why not? was the cry. Has not the career of the republic almost from its very beginning been one of territorial expansion? Has it not acquired Louisiana, Florida, Texas, the vast countries that came to us through the Mexican War, and Alaska, and has it not digested them well? Were not those acquisitions much larger than those now in contemplation? If the republic could digest the old, why not the new? What is the difference?

Only look with an unclouded eye, and you will soon discover differences enough warning you to beware. There are five of decisive importance.

1. All the former acquisitions were on this continent, and, excepting Alaska, contiguous to our borders.

2. They were situated, not in the tropical, but in the temperate zone, where democratic institutions thrive, and where our people could migrate in mass.

3. They were but very thinly peopled—in fact, without any population that would have been in the way of new settlement.

4. They could be organized as territories in the usual manner, with the expectation that they would presently come into the Union as self-governing

States with populations substantially homogeneous to our own.

5. They did not require a material increase of our army and navy, either for their subjection to our rule or for their defense against any probable foreign attack provoked by their being in our possession.

Acquisitions of that nature we might, since the slavery trouble has been allayed, make indefinitely without in any dangerous degree imperiling our great experiment of democratic institutions on the grandest scale; without putting the peace of the republic in jeopardy, and without depriving us of the inestimable privilege of comparatively unarmed security on a compact continent which may, indeed, by an enterprising enemy, be scratched on its edges, but is, with a people like ours, virtually impregnable. Even of our far away Alaska it can be said that, although at present a possession of doubtful value, it is at least mainly on this continent, and may at some future time, when the inhabitants of the British possessions happily wish to unite with us, be within our uninterrupted boundaries.

Compare now with our old acquisitions as to all these important points those at present in view.

They are not continental, not contiguous to our present domain, but beyond seas, the Philippines many thousand miles distant from our coast. They are all situated in the tropics where people of the northern races, such as Anglo-Saxons, or, generally speaking, people of Germanic blood, have never migrated in mass to stay; and they are more or less densely populated, parts of them as densely as Massachusetts—their populations consisting almost exclusively of races to whom the tropical climate is congenial—Spanish creoles mixed with negroes in the West Indies, and Malays, Tagals, Filipinos, Chinese,

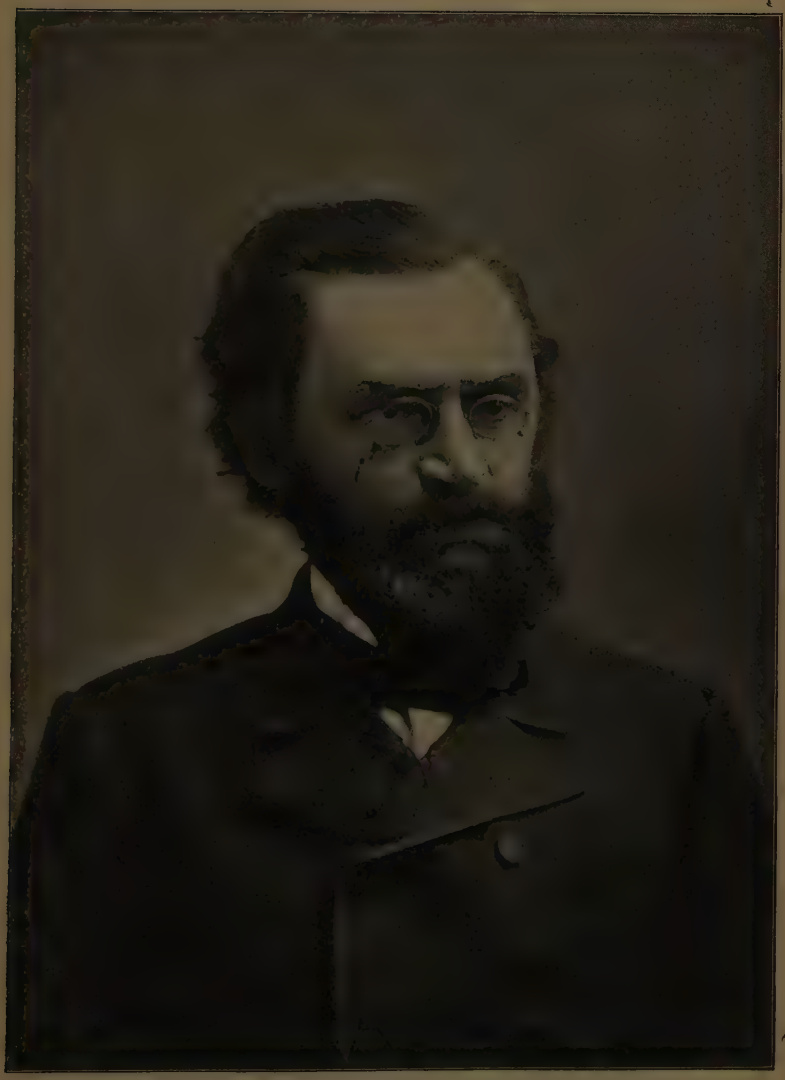
Japanese, Negritos, and various more or less barbarous tribes in the Philippines.

When the question is asked whether we may hope to adapt those countries and populations to our system of government, the advocates of annexation answer cheerily, that when they belong to us, we shall soon "Americanize" them. This may mean that Americans in sufficiently large numbers will migrate there to determine the character of those populations so as to assimilate them to our own.

This is a delusion of the first magnitude. We shall, indeed, be able, if we go honestly about it, to accomplish several salutary things in those countries. But one thing we cannot do. We cannot strip the tropical climate of those qualities which have at all times deterred men of the northern races to which we belong, from migrating to such countries in mass, and to make their homes there, as they have migrated and are still migrating to countries in the temperate zone. This is not a mere theory, but a fact of universal experience.

It is true, you will find in tropical regions a sprinkling of persons of Anglo-Saxon or of other northern origin—merchants, railroad builders, speculators, professional men, miners, and mechanics; also here and there an agriculturist. But their number is small, and most of them expect to go home again as soon as their money-making purpose is more or less accomplished.

Thus we observe now that business men with plenty of means are casting their eyes upon our "new possessions" to establish mercantile houses there, or manufactories to be worked with native labor; and moneyed syndicates and "improvement companies" to exploit the resources of those countries, and speculators and promoters to take advantage of what may turn up—the franchise grabber, as reported, is al-



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ready there—many having perfectly legitimate ends in view, others ends not so legitimate, and all expecting to be more or less favored by the power of our government; in short, the capitalist is thinking of going there, or to send his agents, his enterprises in most cases to be directed from these more congenial shores. But you will find that laboring men of the northern races, as they have never done so before, will not now go there in mass to do the work of the country, agricultural or industrial, and to found there permanent homes; and this not merely because the rate of wages in such countries is, owing to native competition, usually low, but because they cannot thrive there under the climatic conditions.

But it is the working-masses, those laboring in agriculture and the industries, that everywhere form the bulk of the population; and they are the true constituency of democratic government. And as the northern races cannot do the work of the tropical zone, they cannot furnish such constituencies. It is an incontestable and very significant fact that the British, the best colonizers in history, have, indeed established in tropical regions governments and rather absolute ones, but they have never succeeded in establishing there democratic commonwealths of the Anglo-Saxon type, like those in America or Australia.

The scheme of Americanising our "new possessions" in that sense is therefore absolutely hopeless. The immutable forces of nature are against it. Whatever we may do for their improvement, the people of the Spanish Antilles will remain in overwhelming numerical predominance, Spanish creoles and negroes, and the people of the Philippines, Filipinos, Malays, Tagals, and so on—some of them quite clever in their way, but the vast majority utterly alien to us, not only

in origin and language, but in habits, traditions, ways of thinking, principles, ambitions—in short, in most things that are of the greatest importance in human intercourse and especially in political co-operation. And under the influences of their tropical climate they will prove incapable of becoming assimilated to the Anglo-Saxon. They would, therefore, remain in the population of this republic a hopelessly heterogeneous element—in some respects more hopeless even than the colored people now living among us.

What, then, shall we do with such populations? Shall we, according, not indeed to the letter, but to the evident spirit of our Constitution, organize those countries as territories with a view to their eventual admission as States? If they become States on an equal footing with the other States they will not only be permitted to govern themselves as to their home concerns, but they will take part in governing the whole republic, in governing us, by sending senators and representatives into our Congress to help make our laws and by voting for President and Vice-President to give our national government its executive. The prospect of the consequences which would follow the admission of the Spanish creoles and the negroes of West India Islands and of the Malays and Tagals of the Philippines to participation in the conduct of our government is so alarming that you instinctively pause before taking the step.

But this may be avoided, it is said, by governing the new possessions as mere dependencies, or subject provinces. I will waive the constitutional question and merely point out that this would be a most serious departure from the rule that governed our former acquisitions, which are so frequently quoted as precedents. It is useless to speak of the District of Columbia and Alaska as proof that we have done such things

before and can do them again. Every candid mind will at once admit the vast difference between those cases and the permanent establishment of substantially arbitrary government over large territories with many millions of inhabitants, and with a prospect of there being many more of the same kind, if we once launch out on a career of conquest. The question is not merely whether we can do such things, but whether, having the public good at heart, we should do them.

If we do adopt such a system, then we shall, for the first time since the abolition of slavery, again have two kinds of Americans: Americans of the first class, who enjoy the privilege of taking part in the government in accordance with our old constitutional principles, and Americans of the second class, who are to be ruled in a substantially arbitrary fashion by the Americans of the first class, through congressional legislation and the action of the national executive—not to speak of individual "masters" arrogating to themselves powers beyond the law.

This will be a difference no better—nay, rather somewhat worse—than that which a century and a quarter ago still existed between Englishmen of the first and Englishmen of the second class, the first represented by King George and the British Parliament, and the second by the American colonists. This difference called forth that great pæan of human liberty, the American Declaration of Independence—a document which, I regret to say, seems, owing to the intoxication of conquest, to have lost much of its charm among some of our fellow-citizens. Its fundamental principle was the "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." We are now told that we have never fully lived up to that principle, and that, therefore, in our new policy we

may cast it aside altogether. But I say to you that, if we are true believers in democratic government, it is our duty to move in the direction toward the full realization of that principle and not in the direction away from it. If you tell me that we cannot govern the people of those new possessions in accordance with that principle, then I answer that this is a good reason why this democracy should not attempt to govern them at all.

If we do, we shall transform the government of the people, for the people, and by the people, for which Abraham Lincoln lived, into a government of one part of the people, the strong, over another part, the weak. Such an abandonment of a fundamental principle as a permanent policy may at first seem to bear only upon more or less distant dependencies, but it can hardly fail in its ultimate effects to disturb the rule of the same principle in the conduct of democratic government at home. And I warn the American people that a Democracy cannot so deny its faith as to the vital conditions of its being—it cannot long play the king over subject populations without creating within itself ways of thinking and habits of action most dangerous to its own vitality—most dangerous especially to those classes of society which are the least powerful in the assertion, and the most helpless in the defense of their rights. Let the poor and the men who earn their bread by the labor of their hands pause and consider well before they give their assent to a policy so deliberately forgetful of the equality of rights.

I do not mean to say, however, that all of our new acquisitions would be ruled as subject provinces. Some of them, the Philippines, would probably remain such, but some others would doubtless become States. In Porto Rico, for instance, politicians of lively ambition are already clamoring for the speedy

organization of that island as a regular territory, soon to be admitted as a State of the Union. You may say that they will have long to wait. Be not so sure of that. Consult your own experience. Has not more than one territory, hardly fitted for statehood, been precipitated into the Union as a State when the majority party in Congress thought that, by doing so, its party strength could be augmented in the Senate and in the House and in the electoral college? Have our parties become so unselfishly virtuous that this may not happen again? So we may see Porto Rico admitted before we have had time to rub our eyes.

You may say that little Porto Rico would not matter much. But can any clear-thinking man believe that, when we are once fairly started in the course of indiscriminate expansion, we shall stop there? Will not the same reasons which induced us to take Porto Rico also be used to show that the two islands of San Domingo with Hayti, and of Cuba, which separate Porto Rico from our coast, would, if they were in foreign hands, be a danger to us, and that we must take them? Nothing could be more plausible. Why, the necessity of annexing San Domingo is already freely discussed, and agencies to bring this about are actually at work. And as to Cuba, every expansionist will tell you that it is only a matter of time. And does any one believe that those islands, if annexed, will not become States of this Union? That would give us at least three, perhaps four, new States, with about 3,500,000 inhabitants, Spanish and French Creoles and negroes, with six or eight senators, and from fifteen to twenty representatives in Congress and a corresponding number of votes in the electoral college.

Nor are we likely to stop there. If we build and own the Nicaragua Canal, instead of neutralizing it,

we shall easily persuade ourselves that our control of that canal will not be safe unless we own all the country down to it, so that it be not separated from our borders by any foreign, and possibly hostile power. Is this too adventurous an idea to become true? Why, it is not half as adventurous and extravagant as the idea of uniting to this republic the Philippines 9,000 miles away. It is already proposed to acquire in some way strips of territory several miles wide on each side of that canal for its military protection. But that will certainly be found insufficient if foreign countries lie between. We must, therefore, have those countries. That means Mexico and various small Central American republics, with a population in all of about 14,000,000, mostly Spanish-Indian mixture—making at least fifteen States, entitled to thirty senators and scores of representatives and presidential electors.

As to the character of the people whom those senators, members, and presidential electors are to represent, I will let an authority speak that may astonish you, considering his present position—the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, who said in a public address at the time when the annexation of San Domingo was under discussion:

"The land greed of the Anglo-Saxon race is still at work. We have absorbed the best part of Mexico, but we have plenty of propagandists, mainly in the army, and with influential voice near the head of the government, clamorous for the rest. We have taken a foothold in the West Indies; it will be of God's mercy if we do not find the whole West Indian archipelago crowded upon us to tax an already overloaded digestion. What are we to do with the turbulent, treacherous, ill-conditioned population? They have shown no faculty for self-government hitherto; and are we to precipitate them in a mass into the already suffi-

ciently-degraded elements of our national suffrage? We are trying the powers of Anglo-Saxon self-governing digestion upon three millions of slaves; are the gastric juices of the body politic equal to the addition of the Mexicans, the Santo Domingans, the Cubans, the 'Conks' of the Bahamas, the Kanakas, and the rest of the inferior mixed races of our outlying tropical and semi-tropical dependencies?"

As Mr. Reid now advocates the annexation of Porto Rico and the Philippines, he must have changed his opinion, which he had a right to do. But I think he substantially spoke the truth then, and if he now wants the Philippines, his case clearly illustrates how far people will be carried by the expansion fever when it once fairly takes hold of them.

You may think that the introduction of more than thirty men in our senate, over eighty in the lower house of our Congress, and much over one hundred votes in our electoral college, to speak and act for the mixture of Spanish, French, and negro blood on the West India Islands, and for the Spanish and Indian mixture on the continent south of us—for people utterly alien and mostly incapable of assimilation to us in their tropical habitation—to make our laws and elect our Presidents, and incidentally to help us lift up the Philippines to a higher plane of civilization—is too shocking a proposition to be entertained for a moment and that our people will resist it to the bitter end. No they will not resist it, if indiscriminate expansion has once become the settled policy of the republic. They will be told, as they are told now, that we are in it and cannot get honorably out of it; that destiny, and Providence, and duty demand it; that it would be cowardly to shrink from our new responsibilities; that those populations cannot take care of themselves, and that it is our mission to let them have

the blessing of our free institutions; that we must have new markets for our products; that those countries are rich in resources, and that there is plenty of money to be made by taking them; that the American people can whip anybody and do anything they set out to do; and that "Old Glory" should float over every land on which we can lay our hands.

Those who have yielded to such cries once, will yield to them again. Conservative citizens will tell them that thus the homogeneousness of the people of the republic, so essential to the working of our democratic institutions, will be irretrievably lost; that our race troubles, already dangerous, will be infinitely aggravated and that the government of, by, and for the people will be in imminent danger of fatal demoralization. They will be cried down as pusillanimous pessimists, who are no longer American patriots. The American people will be driven on and on by the force of events as Napoleon was when started on his career of limitless conquest. This is imperialism as now advocated.

Our old acquisitions did not require a material increase of our army and navy. What of the new? It is generally admitted that we need very considerable additions to our armaments on land and sea to restore and keep order on the islands taken from Spain, and then to establish our sovereignty there. This is a ticklish business. In the first place, Spain has never been in actual control and possession of a good many of the Philippine Islands, while on others the insurgent Filipinos had well-nigh destroyed the Spanish power when the treaty of Paris was made.

The Hon. Cyrus A. Sulloway, a member of Congress from New Hampshire, is reported to have said in a recent interview: "The Anglo-Saxon advances into the new regions with a Bible in one hand

and a shotgun in the other. The inhabitants of those regions that he cannot convert with the aid of the Bible and bring into his markets he gets rid of with the shotgun. It is but another demonstration of the survival of the fittest." In other words, unless you worship as we command you, and give us a profitable trade, we shall have to shoot you down. The bloodiest of the old Spanish conquerors, four centuries ago, could not have spoken better. It has a strange sound in free America. Let us hope that the spread of this hideous brutality of sentiment will prove only a temporary epidemic, like the influenza, and will yield again when the intoxication of victory subsides and our heads become cool once more. If it does not, more shotguns will be needed than Mr. Sulloway may now anticipate.

If we take those new regions, we shall be well entangled in that contest for territorial aggrandizement, which distracts other nations and drives them far beyond their original design. So it will be inevitably with us. We shall want new countries to protect that which we already possess. The greed of speculators, working upon our government, will push us from one point to another, and we shall have new conflicts on our hands, almost without knowing how we got into them. It has always been so under such circumstances, and always will be. This means more and more soldiers, ships, and guns.

A singular delusion has taken hold of the minds of otherwise clear-headed men. It is that our new friendship with England will serve firmly to secure the world's peace. Nobody can hail that friendly feeling between the two nations more warmly than I do, and I fervidly hope it will last. But I am profoundly convinced that if this friendship results in the two countries setting out to grasp "for the Anglo-Saxon," as the

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phrase is, whatever of the earth may be attainable—if they hunt in couple—they will surely soon fall out about the game, and the first serious quarrel, or at least one of the first, we shall have, will be with Great Britain. And as family feuds are the bitterest, that feud will be apt to become one of the most deplorable in its consequences.

No nation is, or ought to be, unselfish. England, in her friendly feeling toward us is not inspired by mere sentimental benevolence. The anxious wish of many Englishmen that we should take the Philippines is not free from the consideration that, if we do so, we shall for a long time depend on British friendship to maintain our position on that field of rivalry, and that Britain will derive ample profit from our dependence on her. This was recently set forth with startling candor by the London Saturday Review, thus:

"Let us be frank and say outright that we expect mutual gain in material interests from this rapprochement. The American Commissioners at Paris are making this bargain, whether they realize it or not, under the protecting naval strength of England, and we shall expect a material quid pro quo for this assistance. We expect the United States to deal generously with Canada in the matter of tariffs, and we expect to be remembered when the United States comes into possession of the Philippine Islands, and, above all, we expect her assistance on the day, which is quickly approaching, when the future of China comes up for settlement, for the young imperialist has entered upon a path where it will require a strong friend, and a lasting friendship between the two nations can be secured, not by frothy sentimentality on public platforms, but by reciprocal advantages in solid, material interests.

And the cable dispatch from London bringing this utterance added:

"The foregoing opinion is certainly outspoken enough, but every American moving in business circles here knows this voices the expectations of the average Englishman."

This is plain. If Englishmen think so we have no fault to find with them. But it would be extremely foolish on our part to close our eyes to the fact. British friendship is a good thing to have, but, perhaps, not so good thing to need. If we are wise we shall not put ourselves in a situation in which we shall need it. British statesmanship has sometimes shown great skill in making other nations fight its battles. This is very admirable from its point of view, but it is not so pleasant for the nations so used. I should be loath to see this Republic associated with Great Britain in apparently joint concerns as a junior partner with a minority interest, or the American Navy in the situation of a mere squadron of the British fleet. This would surely lead to trouble in the settling of accounts. Lord Salisbury was decidedly right when, at the last lord mayor's banquet, he said that the appearance of the United States as a factor in Asiatic affairs was likely to conduce to the interests of Great Britain, but might "not conduce to the interest of peace." Whether he had eventual quarrels with this Republic in mind, I do not know. But it is certain that the expression of British sentiment I have just quoted shows us a Pandora box of such quarrels.

Ardently desiring the maintenance of the friendship between England and this Republic, I cannot but express the profound belief that this friendship will remain most secure if the two nations do not attempt to accomplish the same ends in the same way and on the same field, but continue to follow the separate

courses prescribed by their peculiar conditions and their history.

The history of England is that of a small island, inhabited by a vigorous, energetic and rapidly multiplying race, with the sea for its given field of action. Nothing could be more natural than that, as the population pressed against its narrow boundaries, Englishmen should have swarmed out, founding colonies and gradually building up an empire of possessions scattered all over the globe. England now must have the most powerful fleet in the world, not only for the protection of her distant possessions, but because if any other sea power, or combination of sea powers, could effectually blockade her coasts, her people as they now are, might be starved in a few months. England must be the greatest sea power in order to be a great power at all.

The American people began their career as one of the colonial offshoots of the English stock. They found a great continent to occupy and to fill with democratic commonwealths. Our country is large enough for several times our present population. Our home resources are enormous, in great part not yet touched. We need not fear to be starved by the completest blockade of our coasts, for we have enough of everything and to spare. On the contrary, such a blockade might rather result in starving others that need our products. We are to-day one of the greatest powers on earth, without having the most powerful fleet, and without stepping beyond our continent. We are sure to be by far the greatest power of all, as our homogeneous, intelligent, and patriotic population multiplies, and our resources are developed, without firing a gun or sacrificing a life for the sake of conquest—far more powerful than the British Empire with all its Hindoos, and than the Russian Empire

with all its Mongols. We can exercise the most beneficent influences upon mankind, not by forcing our rule or our goods upon others that are weak at the point of the bayonet, but through the moral power of our example, in proving how the greatest as well as the smallest nation can carry on the government of the people, by the people, and for the people in justice, liberty, order, and peace without large armies and navies.

Let this Republic and Great Britain each follow the course which its conditions and its history have assigned to it, and their ambitions will not clash, and their friendship can be maintained for the good of all. And if our British cousins should ever get into very serious stress, American friendship may stand behind them; but then Britain would depend upon our friendship, which, as an American, I should prefer, and not America on British friendship, as our British friends, who so impatiently urge us to take the Philippines, would have it. But if we do take the Philippines, and thus entangle ourselves in the rivalries of Asiatic affairs, the future will be, as Lord Salisbury predicted, one of wars and rumors of wars, and the time will be forever past when we could look down with condescending pity on the nations of the Old World groaning under militarism with all its burdens.

We are already told that we shall need a regular army of at least 100,000 men, three-fourths of whom are to serve in our "new possessions." The question is whether this necessity is to be only temporary or permanent. Look at the cost. Last year the support of the army proper required about $23,000,000. It is computed that taking the increased costliness of the service in the tropics into account, the army under the new dispensation will require about $150,000,000; that is, $127,000,000 a year more. It is also officially

admitted that the possession of the Philippines would render indispensable a much larger increase of the navy than would otherwise be necessary, costing untold millions for the building and equipment of ships, and untold millions every year for their maintenance and for the increased number of officers and men. What we shall have to spend for fortifications and the like cannot now be computed. But there is a burden upon us which in like weight no other nation has to bear. To-day, thirty-three years after the Civil War, we have a pension roll of very nearly one million names. And still they come. We paid to pensioners over $145,000,000 last year, a sum larger than the annual cost of the whole military peace establishment of the German Empire, including its pension roll. Our recent Spanish war will, according to a moderate estimate, add at least $20,000,000 to our annual pension payments. But if we send troops to the tropics and keep them there, we must look for a steady stream of pensioners from that quarter, for in the tropics soldiers are "used up" very fast, even if they have no campaigning to do.

But all such estimates are futile. There may, and probably will be, much campaigning to do to keep our new subjects in obedience, or even in conflicts with other powers. And what military and naval expeditions will then cost, with our extravagant habits, and how the pension roll then will grow, we know to be incalculable. Moreover, we shall then be in the situation of those European powers, the extent of whose armaments are determined, not by their own wishes, but by the armaments of their rivals. We, too, shall nervously watch reports from abroad telling us that this power is augmenting the number of its warships, or that another is increasing its battalions, or strengthening its colonial garrisons in the neighborhood of our

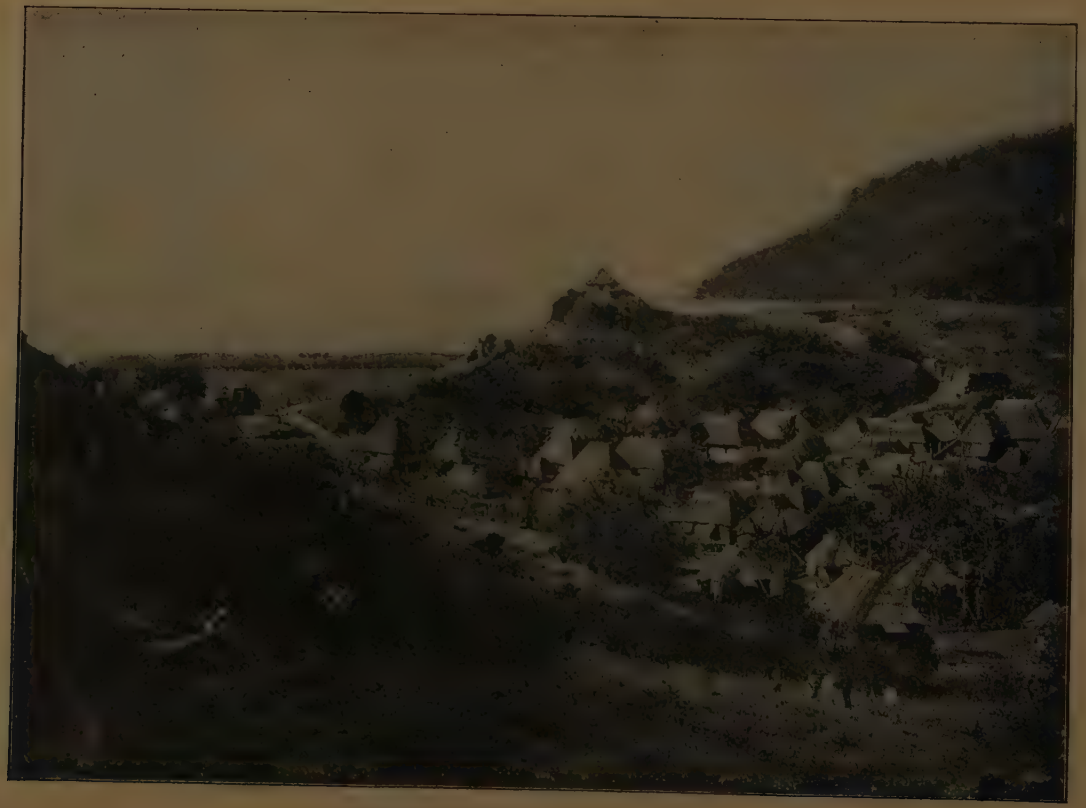
far-away possessions; and we shall have to follow suit. Not we ourselves, but our rivals and possible enemies will decide how large our armies and navies must be, and how much money we must spend for them. And all that money will have to come out of the pockets of our people, the poor as well as the rich. Our taxpaying capacity and willingness are indeed very great. But set your policy of imperialism in full swing, as the acquisition of the Philippines will do, and the time will come, and come quickly, when every American farmer and workingman, when going to his toil, will, like his European brother, have "to carry a fully armed soldier on his back."

Our government has agreed to appear in the "Peace-and-Disarmament Conference" called by the Russian Czar. What will our representative have to say when the Russian spokesman, as the Czar has done, truthfully describes the ever-growing evils of militarism, and the necessity of putting a stop to them in the interest of civilization and of the popular welfare? The American imperialist, whatever fine phrases he may employ, will have to say substantially this: "All you tell us about the ruinous effects of increasing armaments and the necessity of stopping them in the interest of civilization and the popular welfare, was our own belief some time ago. But we Americans have recently changed our minds. You, gentlemen, say that the powers you represent would disarm if they could, and that general disarmament might be possible if one power would resolutely begin to disarm. But we Americans are just beginning to arm. You say that this will put another difficulty in the way of general disarmament. But we Americans have, by way of liberating Cuba, won by conquest some islands in both hemispheres, to which we may wish to add,

and this business will require larger armies and navies than we now have."

This is the voice of American imperialism. And thus our great and glorious Republic, which once boasted of marching in the vanguard of progressive civilization, will deliberately go to the rear, and make of itself a new obstacle to a reform, the success of which would do infinitely more for the general good of mankind than we could accomplish by a hundred victories of our arms on land or sea.

It would seem, therefore, that the new territorial acquisitions in view are after all very different from those we have made before. But something more is to be said. When the Cuban affair approached a crisis, President McKinley declared in his message that "forcible annexation cannot be thought of" for "it would by our code of morals, be criminal aggression." And in resolving upon the war against Spain, Congress, to commend that war to the public opinion of mankind, declared with equal emphasis and solemnity that the war was, from a sense of duty and humanity, made specifically for the liberation of Cuba, and that Cuba "is, and of right ought to be, free and independent." If these declarations were not sincere, they were base and disgraceful acts of hypocrisy. If they were sincere at the time, would they not be turned into such disgraceful acts of hypocrisy by subsequently changing the war, professedly made from motives of duty and humanity, into a war of conquest and self-aggrandizement? It is pretended that those virtuous promises referred to Cuba only. But if President McKinley had said that, while the forcible annexation of Cuba would be criminal aggression, the forcible annexation of anything else would be perfectly right, and if Congress had declared that as to Cuba the war would be one of



SCENE ON CORREGIDOR ISLAND.

mere duty, humanity, and liberation, but that we would take by conquest whatever else we could lay our hands on, would not all mankind have broken out in a shout of scornful derision?

I ask in all candor, taking President McKinley at his word: Will the forcible annexation of the Philippines by our code of morals not be criminal aggression —a self-confessed crime? I ask further, if the Cubans, as Congress declared, are and of right ought to be free and independent, can anybody tell me why the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos ought not of right to be free and independent? Can you sincerely recognize the right to freedom and independence of one and refuse the same right to another in the same situation, and then take his land? Would not that be double-dealing of the most shameless sort?

We hear much of the respect of mankind for us having been greatly raised by our victories. Indeed, the valor of our soldiers and the brilliant achievements of our navy have won deserved admiration. But do not deceive yourselves about the respect of mankind. Recently I found in the papers an account of the public opinion of Europe, written by a prominent English journalist. This is what he says: "The friends of America wring their hands in unaffected grief over the fall of the United States under the temptation of the lust of territorial expansion. Her enemies shoot out the lip and shriek in derision over what they regard as the unmistakable demonstration which the demand for the Philippines affords of American cupidity, American bad faith and American ambition. 'We told you so!' they exclaim. That is what the unctuous rectitude of the Anglo-Saxon always ends in. He always begins by calling heaven to witness his unselfish desire to help his neighbor, but he always ends by stealing his spoons!"

Atrocious, is it not? And yet this is substantially what the true friends of America, and what her enemies in Europe, think—I mean those friends who had faith in the nobility of the American people, who loved our republican government, and who hoped that the example set by our great democracy would be an inspiration to those struggling for liberty the world over; and I mean those enemies who hate republican government and who long to see the American people disgraced and humiliated. So they think; I know it from my own correspondence. Nothing has in our times discredited the name of republic in the civilized world as much as the Dreyfus outrage in France and our conquest furor in America; and our conquest furor more, because from us the world hoped more.

No, do not deceive yourselves. If we turn that war which was so solemnly commended to the favor of mankind as a generous war of liberation and humanity into a victory for conquest and self-aggrandizement, we shall have thoroughly forfeited our moral credit with the world. Professions of unselfish virtue and benevolence, proclamations of noble humanitarian purposes coming from us will never, never be trusted again. Is this the position in which this great Republic of ours should stand among the family of nations? Our American self-respect should rise in indignant protest against it.

And now compare this picture of the state of things which threatens us with the picture I drew of our condition existing before the expansion fever seized us. Which will you choose?

What can there be to justify a policy fraught with such direful consequences? Let us pass the arguments of the advocates of such imperialism candidly in review.

The cry suddenly raised that this great country has

become too small for us is too ridiculous to demand an answer, in view of the fact that our present population may be tripled and still have ample elbow-room, with resources to support many more. But we are told that our industries are gasping for breath; that we are suffering from over-production; that our products must have new outlets, and that we need colonies and dependencies the world over to give us more markets. More markets? Certainly. But do we, civilized beings, indulge in the absurd and barbarous notion that we must own the countries with which we wish to trade? Here are our official reports before us, telling us that of late years our export trade has grown enormously, not only of farm products but of the products of our manufacturing industries; in fact, that "our sales of manufactured goods have continued to extend with a facility and promptitude of results which have excited the serious concern of countries that, for generations, have not only controlled their home markets, but had practically monopolized certain lines of trade in other lands."

There is a distinguished Englishman, the Right Hon. Charles T. Ritchie, President of the Board of Trade, telling a British Chamber of Commerce that "we (Great Britain) are being rapidly overhauled in exports by other nations, especially the United States and Germany," their exports fast advancing, while British exports are declining. What? Great Britain, the greatest colonial power in the world, losing in competition with two nations, one of which had, so far, no colonies or dependencies at all, and the other none of any commercial importance? What does this mean? It means that, as proved by the United States and Germany, colonies are not necessary for the expansion of trade, and that, as proved by Great Britain, colonies do not protect a nation against a

loss of trade. Our trade expands, without colonies or big navies, because we produce certain goods better and in proportion cheaper than other people do. British trade declines, in spite of immense dependencies and the strongest navy, because it does not successfully compete with us in that respect. Trade follows, not the flag, but the best goods for the price. Expansion of export trade and new markets! We do not need foreign conquests to get them, for we have them, and are getting them more and more in rapidly increasing growth.

"But the Pacific Ocean," we are mysteriously told, "will be the great commercial battlefield of the future, and we must quickly use the present opportunity to secure our position on it. The visible presence of great power is necessary for us to get our share of the trade of China. Therefore we must have the Philippines." Well, the China trade is worth having, although for a time out of sight the Atlantic Ocean will be an infinitely more important battlefield of commerce than the Pacific, and one European customer is worth more than twenty or thirty Asiatics. But does the trade of China really require that we should have the Philippines and make a great display of power to get our share? Read the consular reports, and you will find that in many places in China our trade is rapidly gaining, while in some British trade is declining, and this while Great Britain had on hand the greatest display of power imaginable and we had none. And in order to increase our trade there, our consuls advise us to improve our commercial methods, saying nothing of the necessity of establishing a base of naval operations, and of our appearing there with war ships and heavy guns. Trade is developed, not by the best guns, but by the best merchants. But why do other nations prepare to fight for the Chinese trade?

Other nations have done many foolish things which we have been, and I hope will remain, wise enough not to imitate. If it should come to fighting for Chinese customers, the powers engaged in that fight are not unlikely to find out that they pay too high a price for what can be gained, and that at last the peaceful and active neutral will have the best bargain. At any rate, to launch into all the embroilments of an imperialistic policy by annexing the Philippines in order to snatch something more of the Chinese trade would be for us the foolishest game of all.

Generally speaking, nothing could be more irrational than all the talk about our losing commercial or other opportunities which "will never come back if we fail to grasp them now." Why, we are so rapidly growing in all the elements of power ahead of all other nations that, not many decades hence, unless we demoralize ourselves by a reckless policy of adventure, not one of them will be able to resist our will if we choose to enforce it. This the world knows, and is alarmed at the prospect. Those who are most alarmed may wish that we should give them now, by some rash enterprise, an occasion for dealing us a damaging blow while we are less irresistible.

"But we must have coaling stations for our navy!" Well, can we not get as many coaling stations as we need without owning populous countries behind them that would entangle us in dangerous political responsibilities and complications?

"But we must civilize those poor people!" Are we not ingenious and charitable enough to do much for their civilization without subjugating and ruling them by criminal aggression?

The rest of the pleas for imperialism consist mostly of those high-sounding catch-words of which a free people when about to decide a great question should

be especially suspicious. We are admonished that it is time for us to become a "world power." Well, we are a world power now, and have been one for many years. What is a world power? A power strong enough to make its voice listened to with deference by the world whenever it chooses to speak. Is it necessary for a world power, in order to be such, to have its finger in every pie? Must we have the Philippines in order to become a world power? To ask the question is to answer it.

The American flag, we are told, whenever once raised, must never be hauled down. Certainly, every patriotic citizen will always be ready, if need be, to fight and to die under his flag wherever it may wave in justice and for the best interests of the country. But I say to you, woe to the Republic if it should ever be without citizens patriotic and brave enough to defy the demagogues' cry and to haul down the flag wherever it may be raised not in justice and not for the best interests of the country. Such a republic would not last long.

But, they tell us, we have been living in a state of contemptible isolation which must be broken so that we may feel and conduct ourselves "as a full-grown member of the family of nations." What is that so-called isolation? Is it commercial? Last year our foreign trade amounted to nearly 2,000 million dollars, and is rapidly growing. Is that commercial isolation? Or are we politically isolated? Remember our history. Who was it that early in this century broke up the piracy of the Barbary States? Who was it that took a leading part in delivering the world's commerce of the Danish Sound dues? Who was it that first opened Japan to communication with the western world? And what power has in this century made more valuable contributions to international

law than the United States? Do you call that contemptible isolation? It is true, we did not meddle much with foreign affairs that did not concern us. But if the circle of our interests widens and we wish to meddle more, must we needs have the Philippines in order to feel and conduct ourselves as a member of the family of nations?

We are told that, having grown so great and strong, we must at last cast off our childish reverence for the teachings of Washington's farewell address—those "nursery rhymes that were sung around the cradle of the Republic." I apprehend that many of those who now so flippantly scoff at the heritage the Father of his Country left us in his last words of admonition, have never read that venerable document. I challenge those who have to show me a single sentence of general import in it that would not as a wise rule of national conduct apply to the circumstances of to-day! What is it that has given to Washington's farewell address an authority that was revered by all until our recent victories made so many of us drunk with wild ambitions? Not only the prestige of Washington's name, great as that was and should ever remain. No, it was the fact that under a respectful observance of those teachings this Republic has grown from the most modest beginnings into a Union spanning this vast continent; our people have multiplied from a handful to seventy-five millions; we have risen from poverty to a wealth the sum of which the imagination can hardly grasp; this American nation has become one of the greatest and most powerful on earth, and, continuing in the same course, will surely become the greatest and most powerful of all. Not Washington's name alone gave his teachings their dignity and weight. It was the practical results of his policy that secured to it, until now, the intelligent approbation of the American

people. And unless we have completely lost our senses, we shall never despise and reject as mere "nursery rhymes" the words of wisdom left us by the greatest of Americans, following which the American people have achieved a splendor of development without parallel in the history of mankind.

You may tell me that this is all very well, but that by the acts of our own government we are now in this annexation business, and how can we get decently out of it? I answer that the difficulties of getting out of it may be great; but that they are infinitely less great than the difficulties we shall have to contend with if we stay in it.

Looking them in the face, let us first clear our minds of confused notions about our duties and responsibilities in the premises. That our victories have devolved upon us certain duties as to the people of the conquered islands, I readily admit. But are they the only duties we have to perform, or have they suddenly become paramount to all other duties? I deny it. I deny that the duties we owe to the Cubans and the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos and the Tagals of the Asiatic islands absolve us from our duties to the seventy-five millions of our own people and to their posterity. I deny that they oblige us to destroy the moral credit of our own Republic by turning this loudly heralded war of liberation and humanity into a land-grabbing game and an act of criminal aggression. I deny that they compel us to aggravate our race troubles, to bring upon us the constant danger of war, and to subject our people to the galling burden of increasing armaments. If we have rescued those unfortunate daughters of Spain, the colonies, from the tyranny of their cruel father, I deny that we are therefore in honor bound to marry any of the girls, or to take them all into our household, where they may disturb and de-

moralize our whole family. I deny that the liberation of those Spanish dependencies morally constrains us to do anything that would put our highest mission to solve the great problem of democratic government in jeopardy, or that would otherwise endanger the vital interests of the Republic. Whatever our duties to them may be, our duties to our own country and people stand first; and from this standpoint we have, as sane men and patriotic citizens, to regard our obligation to take care of the future of those islands and their people.

They fought for deliverance from Spanish oppression, and we helped them to obtain that deliverance. That deliverance they understood to mean independence. I repeat the question whether anybody can tell me why the declaration of Congress that the Cubans of right ought to be free and independent should not apply to all of them? Their independence, therefore, would be the natural and rightful outcome. This is the solution of the problem first to be taken in view.

It is objected that they are not capable of independent government. They may answer that this is their affair and that they are at least entitled to a trial. I frankly admit that if they are given that trial, their conduct in governing themselves will be far from perfect. Well, the conduct of no people is perfect, not even our own. They may try to revenge themselves upon their tories in their Revolutionary War. But we, too, threw our tories into hideous dungeons during our Revolutionary War and persecuted and drove them away after its close. They may have bloody civil broils. But we, too, have had our Civil War, which cost hundreds and thousands of lives and devastated one-half of our land; and now we have in horrible abundance the killings by lynch law, and our battles

of Virden. They may have trouble with their wild tribes. So had we, and we treated our wild tribes in a manner not to be proud of. They may have corruption and rapacity in their government, but Havana and Ponce may get municipal administration almost as good as New York has under Tammany rule; and Manila may secure a city council not much less virtuous than that of Chicago.

I say these things not in a spirit of levity, well understanding the difference; but I say them seriously to remind you that, when we speak of the government those islands should have, we cannot reasonably set up standards which are not reached even by the most civilized people, and which in those regions could not be reached, even if we ourselves conducted their government with our best available statesmanship. Our attention is in these days frequently called to the admirable and in many respects successful administrative machinery introduced by Great Britain in India. But it must not be forgotten that this machinery was evolved from a century of rapine, corruption, disastrous blunders, savage struggles and murderous revolts, and that even now many wise men in England gravely doubt in their hearts whether it was best for their country to undertake the conquest of India at all, and are troubled by gloomy forebodings of a calamitous catastrophe that may some day engulf that splendid fabric of Asiatic dominion.

No, we cannot expect that the Porto Ricans, the Cubans, and the Filipinos will maintain orderly governments in Anglo-Saxon fashion. But they may succeed in establishing a tolerable order of things in their own fashion, as Mexico, after many decades of turbulent disorder, succeeded at last, under Porfirio Diaz, in having a strong and orderly government of her kind, not, indeed, such a government as we would tol-

erate in this Union, but a government answering Mexican character and interests, and respectable in its relations with the outside world.

This will become all the more possible if, without annexing and ruling those people, we simply put them on their feet, and then give them the benefit of that humanitarian spirit which, as we claim, led us into the war for the liberation of Cuba. To this end we should keep our troops on the islands until their people have constructed governments and organized forces of their own for the maintenance of order. Our military occupation should not be kept up as long as possible, but should be withdrawn as soon as possible.

The Philippines may, as Belgium and Switzerland are in Europe, be covered by a guarantee of neutrality on the part of the powers most interested in that region—an agreement which the diplomacy of the United States should not find it difficult to obtain. This would secure them against foreign aggression. As to the independent republics of Porto Rico and Cuba, our government might lend its good offices to unite them with San Domingo and Hayti in a confederacy of the Antilles, to give them a more respectable international standing. Stipulations should be agreed upon with them as to open ports and the freedom of business enterprise within their borders, affording all possible commercial facilities. Missionary effort in the largest sense, as to the development of popular education and of other civilizing agencies, as well as abundant charity in case of need, will on our part not be wanting, and all this will help to mitigate their disorderly tendencies and to steady their governments.

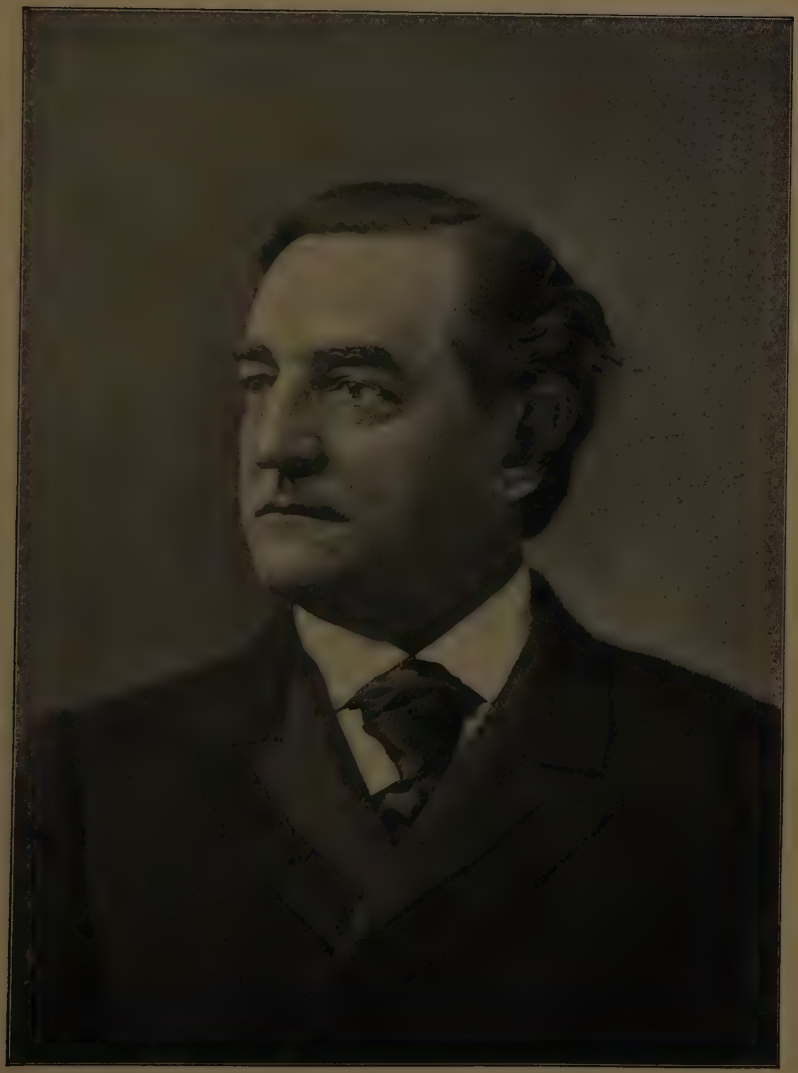
Thus we shall be their best friends without being their foreign rulers. We shall have done our duty to

them, to ourselves, and to the world. However imperfect their governments may still remain, they will at least be their own, and they will not with their disorders and corruptions contaminate our institutions, the integrity of which is not only to ourselves, but to liberty-loving mankind, the most important concern of all. We may then await the result with generous patience—with the same patience with which for many years we witnessed the revolutionary disorders of Mexico on our very borders, without any thought of taking her government into our own hands.

Ask yourselves whether a policy like this will not raise the American people to a level of moral greatness never before attained! If this democracy, after all the intoxication of triumph in war, conscientiously remembers its professions and pledges, and soberly reflects on its duties to itself and others, and then deliberately resists the temptation of conquest, it will achieve the grandest triumph of the democratic idea that history knows of. It will give the government of, for, and by the people a prestige it never before possessed. It will render the cause of civilization throughout the world a service without parallel. It will put its detractors to shame, and its voice will be heard in the council of nations with more sincere respect and more deference than ever. The American people, having given proof of their strength and also of their honesty and wisdom, will stand infinitely mightier before the world than any number of subjugated vassals could make them. Are not here our best interests, both moral and material? Is not this genuine glory? Is not this true patriotism?

I call upon all who so believe never to lose heart in the struggle for this great cause, whatever odds may seem to be against us. Let there be no pusillanimous yielding while the final decision is still in the balance.

Let us relax no effort in this, the greatest crisis the Republic has ever seen. Let us never cease to invoke the good sense, the honesty, and the patriotic pride of the people. Let us raise high the flag of our country —not as an emblem of reckless adventure and greedy conquest, of betrayed professions and broken pledges, of criminal aggressions and arbitrary rule over subject populations—but the old, the true flag, the flag of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln; the flag of the government of, for, and by the people; the flag of national faith held sacred and of national honor unsullied; the flag of human rights and of good example to all nations; the flag of true civilization, peace, and good-will to all men. Under it let us stand to the last, whatever betide.



Jno. W. Daniel.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EFFECT OF ANNEXATION OF THE PHILIPPINES ON AMERICAN LABOR.

BY HON. JOHN W DANIEL,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA.

It is the first step that costs. To-day we are the United States of America. To-morrow, if a treaty now pending in the Senate is ratified, we will be the United States of America and Asia. Our name, like a hoop upon a barrel, marks the boundary of our national projection and ambition. It is proposed to embody into the American Commonwealth as an integral part thereof a large and miscellaneous assortment of Asiatic islands, estimated in number at from 1,200 to 2,000, and to make citizens of the United States, with all the rights of citizenship which attach to the inhabitants of an American Territory, a large and miscellaneous and diversified assortment of people.

We are told by a number of Senators who have addressed us that of these islands and of this people we know but little. Our ignorance of them is a self-evident fact. The documents of our Government, in which have been collected such information as encyclopedias and books of travel would furnish, commence their imperfect account by telling us that both as to the islands and as to the people who inhabit them little that is accurate can be ascertained. We are invoked to do the gravest, the most serious, and solemn act that can ever be done in the movements of mankind, an act in its nature implying permanence.

It is to establish and to assert the sovereignty of the American people over these islands and over this people. For my part, I deem it inexpedient, unwise, and unjust that we should do so.

We are just emerging from a war of humanity, of liberty, and of national honor. In the beginning of that war, and in calling upon volunteers to follow our flag, both the Congress of the United States and the President of the United States declared our national purpose. Congress disclaimed in the joint resolution which led to war any intention of conquest. The President declared that forcible annexation was criminal aggression.

The war has been a glorious success. Our Navy has startled the world by the brilliancy of its achievements. Our Army has added new laurels to the chaplet of its veteran glories. Our people have been united as no people ever were united in supporting a National Administration.

Victory came on eagle's wings to our standard, and on the 1st day of January of the present year the last of the empire of Charles V vanished from the American continent and the dream of Spain for universal empire turned to dust and ashes.

In war it is the unexpected that happens. So in every great and new adventure of peace. We are asked now to sally forth 7,000 miles from our native seat to grasp, against their will, eight millions of unwilling people—to seize upon them, to take them by force of arms and deposit them, land and people, within the lines of the Constitution under the American flag—to make them an integral part of this American Republic.

I do not believe that the great body of the American people understand the significance of this treaty. I

do not believe, at least if I may judge from their utterances, that many Senators who are saying, "Vote for the treaty now and fix your policy to-morrow," understand what that treaty does irretrievably. That treaty fixes our policy. The rest of our policy is a mere matter of clerkly detail. The treaty is the thoroughfare, and through and over that thoroughfare eight millions of Filipinos march into the open doorway of the American Republic. More than that, 70,000,000 Americans march into the Philippine Islands as the Filipinos march here.

It is a marriage of nations. This twain become one flesh. They become bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Henceforth and forever, according to the terminology of this treaty, the Filipinos and Americans are one. I trust yet, that before this marriage is consummated the spirit of American constitutional liberty will arise and forbid the bans.

There is one characteristic of the speeches which have been delivered on this subject by those who favor the treaty and of the essays and editorials which doubtless has not escaped your observation. The issue joined in the debate has been too much joined upon a mere question of power. Who has told us what we are going to the Philippine Islands for? Who has told us what moral or legal compulsion we are under to go there?

Who has said that we are going to make a more perfect union or add to the general welfare, to the national defense, to the establishment of justice, or to the insurance of domestic tranquillity, or how or in what way we will secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity,—how attain by going there any of the great ends for which our Government was founded and our Constitution ordained? Upon these

subjects there has been a general if not an absolute silence.

I shall speak on this question solely from the standpoint of an American, a republican American, if you please, believing in republican doctrines and in republican institutions; a democratic American, if you please, believing in the right of this people and the right of all people to govern themselves. No obligation to any other nation, nay, no obligation to the Filipinos, however fanciful or however solid, should for a single instant disturb us from standing firmly and fixedly on this standpoint.

It is the American people who have got the first mortgage upon our diligent attention and loyalty to their interests, to their Constitution, to their principles; it is the American people who have got the preferred stock in anything that we may do or project concerning our national polity. We may have some obligations to others. They are secondary. But we have none which is not perfectly consistent with such amendment to this treaty as will preserve our national character and consummate perfectly the purposes for which the war was begun.

It is said that we can not leave the Filipinos in the hands of Spain. I agree to that. Our obligation is one of equity and is one of honor. But why leave the Filipinos in the hands of Spain? What have we to do with them and what is their relation to us that we should sally forth knightlike, with lance in hand, to do anything for or about them? It is a fact that the Filipinos helped us in our war with Spain. They became our comrades in the line of battle. The blood of the brown people of the Philippine Archipelago and the blood of the paleface from the great Northern

Republic flowed in a common stream to cast off the odious and intolerable yoke of Spain.

The obligation that we owe to the Filipinos is the obligation of comradeship. It is the obligation of fraternity. It is not pecuniary; it is honorary. It comes under that class of obligations which has as its touchstone and its watchword "noblesse oblige." Having accepted comradeship—call the comrade ally, coadjutor, coöperator, or what not—having accepted the fact of friendship and clasped hands on the perilous edge of battle, we can not renounce the hand that we there clasped and treat the man or the men who gave us those hands otherwise than as friends. That is "noblesse oblige."

What is it, if you strike the gun out of the hand in which you put the gun and aim the gun at the breast which touched elbow with your elbow when you went down to battle? What is that? I name it not, but it is not noblesse oblige. We can not leave the Filipinos in the hands of Spain. No, no, no. Americans can not so treat those who were their comrades.

What next? Recognize their independence as a nation? I say, "No." They have not yet made themselves an independent nation. We do not know whether they can or whether they will make themselves such a nation as can assume international obligations and maintain themselves in the great family of states. Recognize them and come away from the islands? No; we can not now come away from the islands. We need only look skyward to see that the birds of prey are circling around the Philippine Islands. We can neither leave them in the hands of Spain nor leave them to become the prey of the first vulture that sweeps upon them.

What next? The face of the treaty tells us how to treat them. Exactly as we have treated Cuba. We are now in military occupation of the Philippine Islands. Let us stay in military occupation of the Philippine Islands until such time as we know more about them than we do, until we have assisted them with our kind offices and with our national prestige and with our force of arms into such destiny as may fitly and justly await them, into such destiny as they have projected for themselves.

What is the difference between doing that and ratifying this treaty? It is the difference between planting an empire there and maintaining the temporary ascendency of American power there.

The one thing, such as we have proposed and are doing in Cuba, is essentially transitory; it is ambulatory; it admits of a moment's change. The President of the United States, as the Commander in Chief of our armies, can withdraw in honor, in propriety, in justice the troops from Cuba whenever good sense and sound policy dictate. Why not leave him to do the same thing as to the Philippine Islands? With far more reason may we do that as to the Philippine Islands than with respect to Cuba.

Cuba is a natural part of the American continent. It has been, ever since we ourselves have been a nation, within the range and under the sphere of influence of the American Republic. As the Hon. Thomas Francis Bayard said when he was Secretary of State in the first administration of Mr. Cleveland, we have established a protectorate over the Western World. It has always been and it is to-day under the wing of the people of the United States out of the necessity of our geographical situation. The Philippine Islands have never been and naturally can never so be.

Why not, then, leave them in that situation in which we may determine our policy at leisure, studiously, sedately, with full comprehension of all those facts and conditions of which we now claim to know and of which we do know so little?

Before we launch forth upon this great adventure I beg to call attention to the fact that as we stand to-day we are not only the most favored nation of the world, but occupy a position more favored by Providence than any nation that ever did exist in the history of the world since time began. Our situation is absolutely ideal; it is a natural fortification. Our coast is washed east and west by the everlasting seas, which have put up an impenetrable barrier against the aggression of any other nation. As Abraham Lincoln said in one of his speeches, we are so situated that all the armies of the universe, with Napoleon Bonaparte as their general, could never manage to take a drink of water out of the Ohio River.

We are in a natural and impregnable fortress which the God of nature has put around us. North of us are our own kin, a people who in their situation, so far from menacing us, constitute a bond to keep the peace unto themselves, and also make an additional bond to keep the peace with the great mother of nations from which they and we ourselves sprung. South of us are the Central and South American republics. Of all of them we were the prototype and exemplar. They are the intellectual and moral children of the American brain; they are all friendly to us; they can not be otherwise.

We are about to build the Nicaragua Canal. I did not vote for the particular measure, not because I did not want the canal, for I believe in it, but in one way or another that canal is about to be built. It

will chain together the armor of our national defense. After that canal shall have been built, we will not be like Achilles, we will be impregnable from the crown of our head to the sole of our feet, including the heel.

Every annexation we have ever made to the American commonwealth has been an annexation in contemplation of our Constitution and in symmetrical outline with the projections of nature—rivers, mountains, and seas, which are the great lawgivers to peoples.

They tell us that Jefferson was a great annexationist. So he was; but, expansionist as he was, he drew the line on expansion. He interpreted the oracles of nature, if indeed they needed interpretation, for their language is not oracular in the olden oracular sense. Cuba we want, he said, for it is an outpost of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, but we want no annexation that will require a navy to defend it.

If we look introspectively we find that this nation, having now established its ascendency in the wings of the republic in the Sandwich Islands and in Cuba and in Porto Rico, is a perfect, symmetrical body, becoming homogeneous in all its parts, dedicated to the principles of human liberty, and it goes forth like a bridegroom from his chamber, rejoicing as a strong man to run a race. Annex the Philippine Islands to this country, and what is it then? Something beyond the boundaries indicated in its Constitution, something beyond any ideal that ever entered the dreams of our fathers, something that is cumbrous and unnatural, something that is heterogeneous and surprising, something that is amphibious, something that is half man and half fish, something that never would have been born in the natural course of human projection, something that is the haphazard chance of

war, which we are asked to change into a permanent establishment.

When we contemplate the one hundred and twenty-five years of the history of the American Republic and the anterior years in which it was forming in these forests of America, we discern that there has been but one impediment to our national harmony and to our national growth. For that impediment the generation that founded this Republic and its successors were not responsible. They were the unwilling heirs of unwilling and protesting ancestors. The Dutch ship that landed at Jamestown bringing here another race brought also Pandora's box. The interjection of a race nonassimilable with the American people has been the fly in the ointment of American institutions, of American peace, of American history.

That interjection came from war and came from distant colonial establishments. The untutored black man in his native haunts was seized upon by war, was torn from the habitat for which nature had intended him, was put on board an alien ship by an alien people, and was brought here and sold. There is no tragedy in human history so pitiable, and none, if it be justly contemplated, that is so instructive. There lies across the border of yonder stream an old Commonwealth upon which that tragedy inflicted its most terrific curse.

Twenty-seven times did the people of that Commonwealth protest through their legislative assemblies against the intrusion of this foreign and this alien mixture into their Commonwealth; but trade, the commercial spirit overriding the great liberty-loving principles of the British race, foisted them upon us with bayonets. The rest of the story I need not tell; but that one ingredient in the American Common-

wealth turned brother against brother, sowed the seeds of discord into that which otherwise would have been a perfect Union. Without that we were a homogeneous people.

Go into Maine or Louisiana; go into Tennessee or Massachusetts; go into Virginia or Ohio or Illinois, and the American people are like unto themselves, with the same ideas of government, with the same devoted and undying love of liberty, with the same sense of justice and of equity and of honor. This one thing poured "the sweet milk of concord into hell."

We are happily beginning to adjust ourselves to the conditions and complications and infinite troubles that this one ancient crime brought down upon us. We are happily at peace with ourselves to-day throughout all this American nation, and I thank God I have lived to see this day. It matters not on which side a man fought in the civil war; he is devoted to-day to the flag of his country and to everything that that flag stands for. He honors and esteems the President of the United States not only with the naked loyalty that belongs to the dignity of his great office, but with that grateful esteem and with that open and honest admiration for great wisdom and public virtue and broad and enlightened patriotism and for sweet and gracious and friendly ways.

Now, at this moment, perfect in every defense, at peace with all the nations of the world, blessed with everything, and with more than everything, that any other nation was ever blessed with, we are challenged to go forth upon a great expedition 7,000 miles away from our home, to lay the heavy hand of our sovereign power upon 8,000,000 people and introduce again into the American commonwealtn the fatal and

insidious element which came near being the cause of its destruction.

There is one thing that neither time nor education can change. You may change the leopard's spots, but you will never change the different qualities of the races which God has created in order that they may fulfill separate and distinct missions in the cultivation and civilization of the world. The Indian of one hundred and twenty-five years ago is the Indian of to-day—ameliorated, to a certain extent civilized, and yet the wisdom of our forefathers, when, in the Constitution, they set them apart as one people, separate and distinct from the great dominant race which had come to take this land and to inhabit it, is indicated in what we are still doing and must forever do with them so long as they maintain their tribal relations and so long as they are Indians. Racial differences, differences of religion, differences in mode of thought, differences in psychology, the subtle analyses of man have put them asunder.

Apart from that, there are many objections to the treaty as it stands. It is objectionable from a military and strategic standpoint. It destroys the solidarity of this nation. It throws out an American salient far beyond any line of our natural or projected development. That salient will be the first point of attack in any plan of battle against this nation. We can no longer hug our native shores and bid the world defiance; we have flung our glove far down into the arena of the nations, and the first day that war is declared between this American Republic and any other great nation of the world the prow of the battle ship, with its mighty guns, will be turned toward the Philippine Islands.

What then? Anticipating that, if we take the Phil-

ippines to-day we must commence to fortify them to-morrow. There are from 1,200 to 2,000 of those islands. The fortification of one island may not defend another. Siege guns have got to be put upon every harbor and around their cities, at an expense of millions upon millions of dollars. A separate navy has got to watch them and be ready to defend them.

Naturally enough, "birds of a feather flock together." The Philippine treaty and a great standing army walk into the halls of Congress hand in hand, one behind and close upon the heels of the other. In a military and strategic point of view no nation ever challenged fate by so unwise and unnecessary a step as to fling out an American salient upon the Asiatic coast and say, "Here is the place where we are willing to establish our sovereignty, and, if need be, to defend it against the world in arms." It means militarism to follow—its essential corollary, its necessary and its inevitable consequence.

The men who favor the standing Army to-day have read in the lines of that treaty the bugle call "To arms! To arms!" They have seen with that treaty you can no more rely permanently and fixedly upon the American volunteer, the pride of the nation, the citizen soldier, ever ready to take his gun and go down to the shore to defend his native land; that you must have, if you are going there to maintain your sovereignty, a regular army; you must introduce the regular soldier into American life, and when he comes he will come with all the necessary consequences.

The American who has heretofore visited Europe has come back making a contrast between European nations and his own country which was infinitely reassuring and delightful. In no public place in Europe are you ever out of sight of a regular soldier. You

will see the redcoat on every court green in Britain, at every theater, at every shop, on every highway—the man with a gun, ever ready to fight; the soldier of the nation whose gates in the temple of Janus are never closed, the nation which makes its living by war.

If you go to France, you see, with all her power of recovery after the invasion of Germany, she there has the regular soldier on the workman's bench, and the swish of the horsehair plume will be heard with the rustle of every dress. The French grenadier is a social and familiar picture in every domestic scene of life. We are apt to picture the great scenic phases of a nation, to point to their triumphs for their national character. The American would point to Manila Bay, or to Gettysburg Heights, or to Malvern Hill, or to Maryes Hill, or to some other place where American armies marched to death without flinching, and say, "Behold! there is what the American is!"

The greatest triumph of the American nation was a silent and inconspicuous triumph. It was a triumph that was not heralded with the blast of the bugle nor decorated with the ornamental flag. It was the triumph of the American people when they laid down their arms in 1865 and dispersed, each man quietly to his workshop and to his fireside. North and South participated in that triumph.

Even men as wise as Grant and Sherman had said that when you disperse these Southern armies they will break up into bands; one band will infest a mountain fastness, another band will roam the plains, another band will go to the prairies, and for years after the civil war you will have rumors of strife and disagreeable incidents, and you will have to keep a standing army to meet with those incidental troubles

that come in the aftermath of battle. There was no such trouble. The people of our race when they fight mean war, and when they surrender they surrender as flatly and as decisively and as utterly as any people who mean what they say and who believe that it is the truth which makes men free and not falsehood, and not trifling with great concerns.

So the American people shook hands upon the battlefield, which both sides had illustrated with its splendid prowess and with its noble sacrifice. As General Grant fitly says in his Memoirs, "They shook hands as old friends who had been long parted, neither showing resentment." Why should they have shown resentment? War is not personal; it is a matter of principle; it is a matter of duty. There is no reason why the man who does the right as he sees the right may not look the world in the eye and grasp the honest hand of another man, however much he may have differed with him.

I want to see that triumph repeated here. The war is done, in all its projected ideals and with all its natural and just consequences. Spain has vanished from the American continent. Cuba has been set free. It was a proud day for the American citizen; it was a day which made our hearts thrill with exceeding pride and joy when the American flag shot forth into the sky over the dungeon walls of Morro Castle, and the stars heard the message that a people had come who founded their domain not upon the sword but upon human rights.

This is the only great government in the world that laid a corner stone before it put up the foundation of the building. Other nations have been formed from the various circumstances which made men connect together for their mutual defense and interest and

safety. They have grown through the long processes of time from various motives and incidents, but our birth was signalized by a peculiar thing, and that germ which we planted in the beginning of our institutions has grown and waxed and is to-day strong and mighty.

We founded a government upon the recognition of human rights—that is our distinction—the right of men to be free, the right of men to govern themselves; and no man in this Government to-day but feels that he has an immediate, an intimate, a close and undying tie between the highest of its officers, between the most solemn ordinances of its constitutions, between its judges, its legislators, and himself. It is his legislature; it is his Senate; it is his House of Representatives; it is his Constitution; it is his Declaration of Independence; it is his country, and he has his rights in that country, and that country gets back in return his allegiance and his love.

Let us ask ourselves why we should annex the Philippine Islands. I spoke of the debt of equity and honor which we owed the Filipinos. It was a debt of friendship. Is the annexation of them against their will friendship? La Fontaine has a fable of which I am reminded by the proposition. There was a master once, he says, who had a favorite dog, and the dog was accustomed to bring the master his dinner in a basket. One day upon the street with the basket in his mouth going to his master's workshop he was beset by hungry curs. The basket was knocked out of his mouth and the victuals were spilled upon the ground, whereupon the dog, before he addressed himself to the hungry curs who were after him, commenced to gulp down the dinner. Just then the master appeared upon the scene and reproached the dog.

He gave a most excellent excuse. "Why, my dear master," he says, "I was taking the dinner faithfully to you when these hungry curs jumped upon me, and as the dinner was spilled, I knew you would rather have your faithful dog to consume it than to fill up the mouths of these hungry curs."

Having been once friendly to the Filipinos, and seeing that, according to the way the world wags, some vulture is after them, we have concluded that since they have to be eaten up, they would rather have their good old American friend undertake the benevolent assimilation than to have any other persons undertake it. That dog of the fable was an exceedingly smart and philosophical dog. For dog logic, I do not think he has ever been excelled; but upon my word, sir, I do not feel that, as smart as he was, I can yet agree to put him up instead of the American eagle, and accept the moral of his tale in place of the teachings of Thomas Jefferson and Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln, and all the great men who have guided the American people in their hours of emergency.

What do we want to go to the Philippines for, and what are we after, and wherein will we be any better or stronger or nobler or richer after we have gone there? What is the temptation to us? Having told one fable I find myself tempted to tell another. In the old times when there was transmigration of souls between the different types of animated nature, it is said that a cat found herself suddenly transformed into a beautiful lady. Nothing could have exceeded the charms of her person and nothing the propriety of her behavior. But one day, as she sat the picture of demure and enchanted beauty, a mouse chanced to run across the floor. She did not shriek, as perhaps some of her prototypes would have done, but she instantly jumped

A NATIVE VILLAGE IN LUZON ISLAND

upon and devoured the mouse. The feline instinct was still there.

The American Republic set itself upon a different plan from the anterior nations. It said that all men are equal. There was the one word set like a diamond in the Declaration of Independence. It said, furthermore, all just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed. It made a Constitution in which it put up bars of defense for the rights of man and for the rights of the community. It robed itself in the robes of liberty. It set the Goddess of Liberty over its Capitol. Nothing could exceed the beauty of its nobility or the wisdom of its design, and everything has gone well with us until this Philippine mouse has happened to run across the floor, and the old native instinct of taking something has broken loose in us again.

I think I heard a Senator say one day that all of our ancestors were pirates. I take no issue with him. The great prepotent family that has molded American institutions and has hewed out this massive and eternal stone of human liberty were descendants of the great northern races that put freedom in Great Britain, as far as it went, but it once rode the northern seas under the raven flag. But when they got here in this beautiful land, when they felt the pinch of ancient and distant tyranny controlling their affairs, they turned over a new leaf and adopted a set of good resolutions, and Providence aided them in the fulfillment of them as it had blessed no other people since time began.

But there is a chance to take somebody, there is a chance to get some more land, there is a chance to expand in mere material and numerical strength, to seem to be mightier, and the old instinct has jumped

up again and the old appetite has broken out again, and a short-sighted policy is attempted to be placed upon us to override all that we have hitherto accomplished.

We are already beginning to get the Asiatic flavor in our American utterances. The people talk of destiny after the manner of the Orient, after the way of those who bow themselves to fate. We have also got a little of Spanish accent and vogue into our American manners. When we say settle this question now in your treaty, it is mañana, mañana; to-morrow, to-morrow.

More than this, I do not think any nation of the earth or the monarchical essays and pessimists of the world have ever run down the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States as much as I have heard it run down, belittled, and minified in the last few weeks under the influence of this debate. It seems now that it was not much of a Declaration after all. It seems now that it was not much of a Constitution after all. It seems now that there is no provision of it and no sentiment in it and no principle of it that can not be cheesepared away and can not have some nice sharp quillet of the law in a diplomatic way to let it down easily and dismiss it from our further consideration.

I never expected to be called on to defend the Declaration of Independence in this Hall. I never expected to hear its phrases used as if they were airy nothings, rhetorical flourishes, empty vaporings of a revolutionary assemblage. I think that Abraham Lincoln has correctly expounded the Declaration of Independence, and I think in the great debate which he held with Judge Douglas when they were candidates for the Senate from Illinois that he met every

phase of the argument which has here been adduced against it.

I think he defined it and interpreted it just as its immortal author meant it—Thomas Jefferson, the pioneer, the founder, the enunciator of a principle which has done more to mold American institutions, to swing them back into the right groove when they got wrong, than any other. He did not mean that men were equal in all respects, neither in stature nor in intellect, nor in moral character, nor in possession. What he meant was that they were equally entitled to liberty. When he spoke of all governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, he meant that the government of a people must derive its just powers from the consent of the people over whom the government was stretched and to which it applied.

It is literally true that it means the consent of some of the governed, not all. But, according to republican and democratic institutions a majority have a right to express the views of the community, and the consent of all is expressed in the sense of a majority of that government of whom they are the people. It does not imply that because a man is free he may necessarily vote. Our Constitution has dealt with that question. It has left it to the States, and in the nature of things the States must determine who shall vote.

The woman is as free as the man, but she does not vote. The boy 20 years of age is as free and may be wiser and stronger and better than the boy of 23, but one votes and the other does not. In the nature of things the sovereign body of the whole people, who are the majority acting for the entire commonwealth, must determine the degrees of ability—mental, moral

and physical—which are worthy of the deposit of that portion of the political power.

But whether or not the power to vote is possessed or dispossessed by reason of mental or moral weakness or sex or age or condition, all the citizens of a commonwealth that is free are themselves free, and all of them are equal in the enjoyment of their lives. Each of them has the same defense; all have the same liberty. Each of them has the same protection in the pursuit of happiness under just and equal laws, which is the possession of each and every one. That is what the Declaration of Independence means. That is the manner in which every State in this Union has interpreted it. That is the way in which it is accepted in Territory and State alike.

But it is said that with respect to Porto Rico we have one idea and with respect to the Philippine Islands another. Gentlemen who are opposed to the propositions which I am maintaining say that you went to Porto Rico by force of arms. You dispossessed the sovereignty of Spain. You accepted sovereignty from Spain. You have established yourselves upon that island without asking the consent of the governed and without any regard to your Declaration of Independence.

I make two answers to their proposition. In the first place, I say that naturally the two places are different. Porto Rico is an outpost of the American commonwealth. It is under the jurisdiction of our Monroe law, which is as much a law as if it were in our written Constitution. It is essential to our self-defense. The first law of nature is the inherent attribute of a free State as much as of any other.

Furthermore, I say that the people of Porto Rico have made no objection to our sovereignty. They

have not established another government, as the Filipinos have done. They have not raised another revolution, as the Filipinos have done. They have not asked us not to annex them, as the Filipinos have done. While the matter does not rest in the evidence of documents, yet according to our general and public information they welcomed the American flag. They accepted us with outstretched arms. But be that as it may, all rules have some exceptions. Political truths, however clear, however pure, however well defined, can not move with the accuracy of a mathematical equation nor with the symmetry of the starry motions above. Mr. Lincoln answered this objection, made in another case, to the Declaration of Independence:

> It may be argued that there are certain conditions that make necessities and impose them upon us, and to the extent that a necessity is imposed upon a man he must submit to it. I think that was the condition in which we found ourselves when we established this Government. We had slaves amongst us. We could not get our Constitution unless we permitted them to remain in slavery. We could not secure the good we did secure if we grasped for more; and having of necessity submitted to that much, it does not destroy the principle that is the charter of our liberties. Let that charter stand as our standard.

So I say with respect to Porto Rico. While the logic may not be justified by the facts, assume that it was the fact that the Porto Ricans did not want us. It is a necessity of the American Republic. We can not help ourselves. The God of nature, who put that island near our shore, made it a natural outpost of our own defense.

A captain of artillery that carries his battery over a field or demolishes a house in order to get at the enemy does not destroy the private property that he occupies for the emergency in contempt of any of the rights of man. He does it not because he wants to, not that it may not wound his feelings, not that it may not be against his natural instincts and principles,

but because the necessity of defense is upon him, and he must.

It is often in the path of the most noble and gracious nations, those of the highest conception, that they must sometimes break their models. They can not help it. They live in a world of trouble. They are surrounded by the difficult circumstances and situations and complexions of war, pestilence, famine, and invasion. They must do not the best that is conceivable, not the best that some dreamer in his closet might bring up to himself in some sweet imagination, but the best that that case and those conditions admit of.

This we have done with respect to Porto Rico. We can not let another nation take her. That is as old as the Monroe doctrine. We were obliged to drive the Spanish out of her in order to consummate a righteous war. In the nature of things the sovereignty was devolved upon us by the law of nature and of nations.

But how is it as to the Filipinos? Is there any necessity there? Is there any necessity for our taking the Philippine Islands? It is a necessity which no man has mentioned. If there is any sound policy and wise judgment in establishing our sovereignty there in contradistinction to our temporary occupancy, no man has disclosed that policy or made known his confidential views.

Through many of the speeches of those who say "Ratify the treaty" there runs a sense of distrust of what they are doing; there runs a sense of preference for what we propose to do. They say, "Ratify the treaty now; come and we will talk about policy to-morrow."

The policy is wrapped up in the treaty. The policy

is determined by the treaty. The policy that will follow is a mere minor detail. If you have military occupancy there, as you have in Cuba, you may fold your tents like the Arab and quietly steal away, or sail away, or march away, or get away any night or morning that you please.

It is not a question of hauling down the flag. The flag now is a mere casual visitor there. It is no more fixed there than it is fixed in Pennsylvania avenue when it sweeps down at the head of a regiment. It merely waves there over a ship and where it is carried by an American soldier. But once fix sovereignty there and its roots go down to the center of the earth like a fee simple deed, and its stars go upward until they mingle with those in space. It is sovereignty, the most permanent act of human life, the most fixed and immovable thing that ever nation did or could do.

And what excuse is there for it? I wish to quote with accuracy some of the gentlemen who have so earnestly advocated this treaty. We are told that we are bound up in certain alternatives; that this is the least injurious alternative; not that they want it; they deprecate it; but they submit to it, so to speak, against their judgment and against their will as a thing per se, and hope to-morrow we will rectify any trouble or any wrong or any mischief which we may make.

Peace, it is said, is in this treaty; peace—a pleasing name to conjure with. "Blessed are the peacemakers." Are our friends upon the other side sure that this treaty means peace? Are they sure that the spoken word will be substantiated by subsequent facts? Undoubtedly it means peace with Spain. There is nothing else in the future but peace with Spain. There is no contingency that can revive war

with Spain. There is nothing that we would do with this treaty that can affect Spain.

Ah, but amend it, they say, and you delay. We are acting for all time. We are acting for immortality, not for a few days or a few weeks or a few months. Aye, would a few years be a long vestibule to that infinite stretch of time that goes with sovereignty?

But this treaty is easily amended. You have only to substitute in respect to the Philippine Islands what you have done as to Cuba, and it is done. If there are votes here to do that, it can be done next Monday. Do you think Spain will not consent? Why do you think so? There is nothing in the nature of things from which any man can fancy that Spain would not readily assent. She has done so in one case with respect to Cuba, and she did it there simply because we asked it. She did it in Cuba against her wishes. She wanted us to annex Cuba on account of her Spanish citizens there, for she thought that the Spanish people there and the Spanish soldiers there and the Spanish property there would all be safer and better under the permanent sovereignty of the United States than in the chance medley of military occupation with Cuban independence hovering over it. But against the wishes of Spain we said, "No; we prefer only a military occupation here."

Now, if Spain assented to our wishes in that regard, why not as to the other? If she assented to our wishes with respect to a state lying upon our shores, with which we have a natural affinity, a manifest and inevitable destiny of close communion, why would she not also have assented to our suggestion with respect to the Philippine Islands?

But suppose she does not like it. We did not go into this war for the pleasure and satisfaction of Spain.

We went into it much against her liking, and we should not cease this war until we have registered our will, and not the Spanish will, upon the subject-matters with which we have to deal. She could have no sensible, reasonable, justifiable, or even plausible objection.

Some gentlemen have said that there is the same thing in the relinquishment of sovereignty and in the cession of territory. There is as much difference between them as there is between a hawk and a handsaw. The cession of sovereignty is a contract and a grant between two parties. The ceding sovereign is the grantor; the grantee sovereign accepts it, and there is a mutual and interchangeable obligation and fixity of relation between them. A relinquishment is a one-sided affair, that is to say, with respect to the obligations it creates, not with respect to the obligations which it exerts and fulfills.

It is mere letting go upon the one side without the undertaking of any peculiar relation or obligation upon the other except what it sees fit to undertake, and that this was perfectly understood is illustrated in the note of our American commissioners at Paris, who, addressing the Spanish commissioners, set forth to them that perfect understanding of the difference between relinquishment and a cession, with a quotation of learned authorities defining the distinctions between them. But the most ordinary mind can comprehend them.

If Spain relinquishes her authority to us it leaves us free-handed and unbound, and we may do as we please with respect to the Philippine Islands. It does not bind us and obligate us to her to put our sovereignty there to stay. It leaves our generals and our troops there; it leaves the President of the United States here, and,

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as in other cases of annexation, in Florida, in Mexico, and in numerous instances which are familiar in all the writings of our international and constitutional writers, a relinquishment would leave us as master of the situation, with no one to dictate to us, with no one to be bound to, but with America to work out her own will according to the pleasure of the Senate and of the House of Representatives hereafter.

Now, I think that some of our learned friends upon the other side have misconceived and have misstated this case. I think the journals of the country have misconceived and have misstated it. I will read a paragraph from a very intelligent editorial in the Hartford Courant, where it sums up this case to its readers:

There are some things—

Says this writer—

There are some things the ratification of the treaty will not do. It will not make the Philippines a part of the United States. It will not extend the Constitution of the United States over those islands. It will not make the Filipinos American citizens and electors. It will give them no opportunity which they did not enjoy just as fully this time last year to compete with American workingmen in the labor market, nor will it let in their products free of duty to compete with American products. The ratification of the treaty will leave them outside the Constitution, outside the tariff, outside the immigration laws. It will not enable them to scramble over or crawl under. We may add, for the more effectual reassurement of some excessively alarmed orators, that it will not in the least affect the difference between the Philippine climate and the American climate, nor shorten by a single marine league the distance from Manila to New York.

It will not change climate or shorten distance; I admit that, and that is one reason why I am opposed to the treaty. The climate is one which Americans can never colonize. We speak of establishing a Philippine colony. We will do no more in the Philippines than Great Britain in more than a hundred years has been able to do in India. There is no British colony there except in the most paltry and insignificant sense of the word. Not 3 per cent yet are British people. You can not establish any American

colony in the Philippine Islands. The colony would perish.

You can not carry the American people to the Philippine Islands. The people who live there can not have the qualities, physical, moral, or intellectual, that Americans possess. It is not a colony that we propose to establish; it is a dependency, a perpetual dependency, an eternal serfdom, a species of national and international slavery modeled after the Russian pattern, in which the slave goes with the land.

This newspaper writer is mistaken in every one of his legal propositions, according to the Constitution of the United States, according to the opinion of our jurists and publicists that have written thereon, according to the decisions of the United States Supreme Court that have adjudicated thereon, and likewise according to the natural and inborn principles of American liberty which we all possess.

The Philippine Islands will become a part of the United States the moment that the treaty is ratified. The Constitution of the United States will extend over them the moment that it is ratified. It will make the Filipinos American citizens, though not electors—I admit the electoral proposition—as soon as it is ratified. It will give them an opportunity immediate, instant, that they did not enjoy this time last year or any year before, to compete with American workingmen in the labor market. It will let in their products free of duty to compete with American products just as soon as Congress has performed its constitutional mandate and its sworn duty to extend the actual application of the laws to them.

The ratification of the treaty will not leave them outside of the Constitution. It will enable them to scramble over or crawl under or get in, any way that

they please to come in. It will nullify our immigration laws against alien labor. It will nullify our immigration laws against all the races of the East who are at present prohibited from coming here. It will put the goods and manufactures and products of the Philippine Islands and all of its workmen into competition with those of the American workmen.

Why do I say this? It is because the American Constitution is a free Constitution. It is because it has constantly been getting freer and freer. It is because our decisions have fully interpreted it and because our statutes have enacted legislation in behalf of all who may come in our jurisdiction. It stands at the gate waiting and ready to present them with these rights and privileges as soon as the treaty puts them in. It will not require a special act of Congress, because Congress has enacted by anticipation for all who come within our jurisdiction.

I will read three sections, page 347, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, sections 1977, 1978, and 1979. But before I read them I wish to make one observation.

Suppose that the ratification of this treaty did leave the Philippine Islanders in this degraded and extra-constitutional condition. Suppose it left them with no rights that an American Senator was bound to respect and applied to them in the most contemptuous manner that sentence which the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Platt] told us the other day was such a scar upon American jurisprudence; do we want any such people in the American commonwealth? There was no sentence which was uttered about our civil war which probed down deeper into the nature of things or more illuminated our then unhappy condition than the sentence which Abraham

Lincoln uttered in his New York speech, when he said that this Republic could not remain half free and half slave.

This Republic can not remain, nor by my will can it be created, half free and half dependent. In the nature of things the Philippine Islands will never be fitted to become American States. Their race forbids it; their climate forbids it; their conditions in all respects forbid it. Therefore, if the gentlemen who deny them constitutional rights can have their way, it is for the creation of a perpetual dependency, of an absolute despotism annexed to a republic, that they are seeking.

I know not in what attitude the presentation of the Philippine argument is most repulsive. I know not which form of presentation of it is more obnoxious to our people and our institutions. If they are unfitted for liberty and you propose to deny to them the right to a free constitution and to be a free people, you have to raise in your midst a lot of Egyptian taskmasters and satraps, pro-consuls, governors-general, intendentes; and you march forth with this treaty not only to take the Spanish shoe as the master of the Philippine Islands, but to adopt the Spanish policy for their government.

I know, from the superior character and experience of the American people, that they are a humane people. I know that they are noble and high-minded, and that in no situation on the earth will they ever become so cruel, so corrupt, or so disregardful of the rights of man as their Spanish predecessors. But I know this also: That they turn their faces the downward way.

I know also, if the history of the world has left any lessons for our guidance, that when you raise great

standing armies, when you have vast commerce, when you appoint governors-general, when you make profitable employments for men whom you set as task-masters over others, in the nature of things, by the inevitable tendencies and inclinations of human nature, you set up a great establishment in which there is every incitement of ambition and wealth for its perpetuity, and that those who share in its honors, in its emoluments, in its profits, however honorably, will be disposed to a continuance of a condition of things which is to their profit. It may be that we will do better than any other nation has ever done; I know we will do better than Spain; but at its best it is a most perilous relation; it is a most injurious relation; it is a relation that all should pray against who have ever felt the power of that prayer, "Lead us not into temptation."

I want to read an authority from our Supreme Court to which, I believe, attention has not yet been called. It is with respect to our Territories. A Territory of the United States is just as much a part of it as any foot of soil in it. A citizen or inhabitant of a Territory, with permanent residence therein, is just as much a citizen of the United States as the President of the United States or any Senator here. It is true, the limit of his prerogatives may be curtailed by the conditions of his environment, but the Territory is a part of the Union and the man is a citizen of the Union.

Nay, in international transactions and to the outer world a Territory or district of the United States is undistinguishable from a State. This was decided by our Supreme Court in the case of De Geofroy vs. Riggs. The decision is to be found in 133 United States Reports, page 642. It was a discussion of our

treaty with France of 1800, in which we had accorded to French citizens certain rights in the United States. The question arose whether or not a Territory of the United States was a State within the contemplation of that treaty. The Supreme Court said that it was. Judge Field, giving the opinion, said respecting the particular articles of the treaty which he was considering:

> This article is not happily drawn. It leaves in doubt what is meant by "States of the Union." Ordinarily these terms would be held to apply to those political communities exercising various attributes of sovereignty which compose the United States, as distinguished from the organized municipalities known as Territories and the District of Columbia. And yet separate communities, with an independent local government, are often described as States, though the extent of their political sovereignty be limited by relations to a more general government or to other countries. (Halleck on International Law, chapter 3, sections 5, 6, 7.)
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> The term is used in general jurisprudence and by writers on public law as denoting organized political societies with an established government. Within this definition the District of Columbia, under the Government of the United States, is as much a State as any of those political communities which compose the United States. Were there no other territory under the Government of the United States, it would not be questioned that the District of Columbia would be a State within the meaning of international law; and it is not perceived that it is any less a State within that meaning because other States and other territory are also under the same Government.

By this treaty there occurs what the international law writers call a collective naturalization of all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands as American citizens, and to them attach instantly all those personal rights and immunities which belong to American citizens. What are those rights, privileges, and immunities? I have collected our constitutional provisions respecting citizenship. It will be seen, and clearly seen, from their perusal and interpretation that instantly the Filipinos are made American citizens. Our constitutional provisions on the subject of citizenship are as follows:

First, section 2, Article IV:

> The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

That applies to the citizens of the Territories as well as to the citizens of those communities which are

technically called States in our Constitution. The right to vote is not a privilege and immunity of American citizenship. This was decided in the case of Minor vs. Happersett, in 21 Wallace, which showed that the right to vote was a matter which rested within the prerogative of the State; but the other rights, all the rights of commerce, of transportation, of property, of buying and selling, exchanging, apply as well to a citizen of a Territory as to a citizen of a State under the decision which I have just read from the Supreme Court with respect to a Territory being considered as a State for certain purposes and in certain effects and intents.

Then comes this provision in section 3, Article IV:

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States.

Territory in that sense seems to have referred to the actual, physical territory which the United States owns, not only by eminent domain, but by immediate, actual fee-simple title. Certainly it did not apply to enabling the United States to take away any of the muniments and privileges of American citizens, but only applied to those rules and regulations respecting the actual property of the United States, and by extension of interpretation with respect to the government of that property, over that territory of which the United States was the immediate sovereign.

Then, we have Article XIV, section 1:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States—

Certainly, all persons born under annexation would come within the immediate language of this clause—

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

A CIGAR FACTORY IN MANILA

Then comes Article XV:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Without the amendment of that clause in the Constitution, Article XV, if the Congress of the United States hereafter should choose, after annexing the Philippine Islands, to give the right to vote to a portion of its intelligent population, it is obliged to make no distinction on account of race or color, and the Tagalos, the Negritos, and all the various inferior tribes of that country have got to be considered with respect to race and color on the same basis and to the same intent and purpose as a white-born American citizen.

So much for the language of the Constitution. There is a principle of international law which applies to its construction. It is true that Congress may enact a uniform system of naturalization for foreigners, but there is no method of naturalizing one who owes allegiance to the country, and who by a priori act has been made a citizen. By international law, well known, interpreted by our courts, fixed and settled, the annexation of the territory is what is called a collective naturalization of its people. It puts them within the jurisdiction of the United States.

I will read on that subject the opinion of a distinguished jurist whose legal opinions have always been greatly respected, not only in this Hall but throughout the country. He was once chairman of the Judiciary Committee of this body—the Hon. George F. Edmunds, of Vermont. He states that—

> All the people of these islands who were the subjects of Spain will become citizens of the United States by the mere act of cession unless the treaty of cession should provide that those who wished could remain subjects of Spain and aliens as to the United States. This has been a necessary rule of international law for hundreds of years; and the rule is founded upon the obvious fact that the people of every country, or of any part of it, must owe allegiance to and be

subject to the government of some sovereign power, be it a tribe, or emperor, or king, or republic, and must, unless they are slaves or serfs, have the rights of such.

But a republic can have no subjects. Its people must be either citizens, slaves, or aliens.

If aliens, they are the subjects or citizens of some other power which is bound to protect them. The transfer, therefore, of the sovereignty of Spain over the Philippines to the United States makes all her subjects at once citizens of the United States.

If citizens of the United States, they have all the rights that belong to other citizens in the Territories, whether on the mainland or on islands of the sea. Neither geography nor distance has anything to do with it.

Nay, looking beyond this deliberate and learned opinion of an able constitutional jurist, we will see that the treaty itself acquiesces in this interpretation of international law. It assumes that the great body of the Philippine people are created by its passage as American citizens, and it provides for those who do not wish to become so maintaining their allegiance to the Spanish Government under certain conditions which it prescribes.

I read a little from the case of Pollard vs. Hagan, in 3 Howard, page 312:

It cannot be admitted that the King of Spain could, by treaty or otherwise, impart to the United States any of his royal prerogatives; and much less can it be admitted that they have capacity to receive or power to exercise them. Every nation acquiring territory, by treaty or otherwise, must hold it subject to the constitution and laws of its own government.

Again I read from the case of the United States vs. Wong Kim Ark (169 U. S. Reports, 705):

Congress has no authority "to restrict the effect of birth, declared by the Constitution to constitute a sufficient and complete right to citizenship."

Again, I read from Crandall vs. Nevada (6 Wallace, 35):

All citizens of the United States have the right to enter its seaports, to pass freely from one part of its territory to another, and to reside in any State.

The whole Philippine population, if they wish to, can come freely to any part of the United States and locate anywhere in the United States. They can bring their goods with them, and they are unamenable to any tax law of the United States, unless it be

the temporary order of military authority in its course of being supervened by the civil power of the United States.

By the annexation of territory—

Says Chief Justice Marshall—

the relations of the inhabitants with their former sovereign are dissolved, and new relations are created between them and the government which has acquired their territory. The same act which transfers the territory transfers the allegiance of those who remain in it. (American Ins. Co. vs. Canter, 1 Peters, 542.)

It has been intimated that we can make any sort of tariff for these people. It has been time and again decided by the Supreme Court of the United States that as allegiance is created in the citizen to the Government, and the protection of the Government is extended to the citizen by the act which creates sovereignty, that then and there he becomes entitled to be governed by the same uniform laws with respect to taxation and everything else as any other citizen.

I do not lose sight of the fact that there may be an intervening stage in which civil authority may be withheld until military authority has passed, but that military occupancy is essentially transient. The moment the cession is made the decree of its cessation has been pronounced.

The moment of cession is the moment of constitutional accession, and with constitutional accession it becomes the solemn and sworn duty of Congress to provide equal laws to extend these equal immunities, to secure these equal privileges, and there can be no construction favorable to any idea which has been maintained by gentlemen who declare that the people of these territories will not succeed to the rights of American citizens except in the supposition that Congress will act in fraud of their sworn duty; that they will refuse to obey the instrument which they have

sworn to support; that they will make a mockery and scorn of American institutions, and, by mere arbitrary power, sit in their seats and withhold the law which they have sworn to create, and refuse the protection and immunity which it is their duty to extend.

This is what gentlemen mean who are learned and skilled in knowledge of the Constitution when they say that the Constitution does not immediately extend all rights, privileges, and immunities. The Constitution presumes a physical instrument to execute it; it presumes an honorable, honest, and conscientious instrument; and their construction is only justifiable and warrantable upon the assumption that Congress will turn its back upon the Constitution and refuse to execute its sworn duty.

In two cases before the Supreme Court of the United States this question has been decided. One of these cases is the case of Loughborough vs. Blake, to be found in 5 Wheaton, which was a tax case. It involved direct taxation by the United States, and the question arose whether or not a district of the United States was a State in that sense and in the Union in that sense that the direct-tax provision of the Constitution applied to it. Chief Justice Marshall said that it was held that uniformity of tax law applying as to other States applied to the District of Columbia, and that the State of the District of Columbia or the Territories west of the Missouri River were just as much a part of the United States in the sense of the Constitution as any State in the Union.

Another was the case in 16 Howard. It is the case of Cross et al. vs. Harrison, in which the question of tariff laws as applicable to California arose. In that case the Supreme Court showed the difference between military occupancy and sovereignty. It showed

that during the military occupancy the military commander, under the President of the United States, might prescribe such duties as he saw fit. That was under the right of the strong hand, a de facto government, the only government that was there; but the moment that civil power supervened and cession took place, it became the duty of Congress to establish a collection district in California, and the moment that it established the agency for the collection of revenue, uniform and equal laws attached as to every other port and every other place in the United States.

Let us not deceive ourselves about this treaty. Let us not try to deceive any portion of the American people about this treaty. If we are going to take the Philippine Islands, and if a treaty is to be enacted, let us contemplate beforehand exactly what it means, and assume and honorably bear its inevitable consequences. It means the utter destruction of all tariff laws if Congress shall do its duty between the Filipinos and us; it means the utter abrogation of all immigration laws between the Filipinos and us, and the Chinese, the Japanese, the Tagalos, the Negritos, and all the curious and nondescript tribes of the Philippines, with all that they produce in those islands, and with all that their cheap labor may manufacture in those islands, established by greed and foreordained by this treaty to come into the market places and the marts of the United States on exactly the same basis, under the same protection, and with all the benefits which accrue to all American workmen of any race, of any State, or of any Territory.

I would add to the decisions which I have read a few more, which I deem it scarce necessary to read, but I will add to the authorities which I have quoted one from Cooley on the Constitution, a decision of

Judge Washington in 4 Washington Circuit Court Reports, which is generally accepted and taken by text writers and jurists as an exposition of what is meant by the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. He says:

> They may all be comprehended under the following general heads: Protection of the Government; the enjoying of life and liberty; the right to acquire and possess property of every kind and to pursue and obtain happiness in safety, subject nevertheless to such restraints as the Government may justly prescribe for the general good of the whole; the right of the citizen of one State to pass through or to reside in another State for the purposes of trade, agriculture, professional pursuits, or otherwise; to claim the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus; to institute and maintain actions of every kind in the courts of the States; to take, hold, and dispose of property, either real or personal; an exemption from higher taxes or imposts than are paid by the citizens of the other States may be mentioned as some of the particular privileges and immunities of citizens which are clearly expressed by the general description of privileges deemed to be fundamental.

It is true that this treaty reserves the right of Congress to declare the civil rights and political status of these people; but it is also true that Congress in declaring those civil rights and that political status is bound by the Constitution to recognize these fundamental rights, immunities, and privileges, and it can make no definition of civil rights, it can make no declaration of political status, that is not within the lines of that Constitution and of these limitations as they have been recognized and expounded.

To recur now to the statute, Congress has already legislated upon this subject. It has provided in anticipation what shall be the rights and what are the rights of the occupants and inhabitants of our territory; and I read these sections:

> Sec. 1977. All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other.

There is one section applicable to personal rights. Now the next section:

Sec. 1978. All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property.

Then there is still another section:

Sec. 1979. Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress.

Here, then, Congress has already by anticipation fixed its policy as to citizens. It has already put the Filipino upon the plane of any other American citizen. It has already interpreted the clauses of the Constitution which operate upon it, and the very moment that the assent of the Senate of the United States goes to the treaty, the moment the bars are down, the gates are opened and the Filipino walks under the protection of that statute and can say, if he will, as proudly as any of us, "I, too, am an American citizen, and claim the right of the road and the freedom of the mart and all the privileges, rights, and immunities which attach to me as such."

Now, if we are to have these people, let us have a little understanding of whom they are. We do not know much. I know, probably, as little as any, but I have tried to find out by hasty perusal of encyclopedias, magazines, newspaper articles, etc.—

If that statute did not exist ready-made, applying to the Filipinos eo instanti, we would be obliged by the Constitution immediately to make it. Instead of acquiring by the treaty any suggestion or right to repeal it, we would come under the most solemn adjuration that man can live under to enact it.

Would any benefit of trade compensate us for this great change in our national life and this organic change in our institutions? If there be any underly-

ing incentive that has not been fully exploited with respect to this treaty, it must be that we are going to get some trade benefit from it. We will get a place to build railroads, perhaps, though there are a great many good openings for railroads yet remaining in this country. We will have an enlarged market for our wares, it may be suggested. On this line I beg to read a line from a pamphlet called "The Colonial Systems of the World," which has just been issued by our own Government, compiled by Mr. O. P. Austin:

> **Commerce between the successful colonies and their mother countries is in nearly all cases placed upon practically the same basis as that with other countries, goods from the home countries receiving in the vast majority of cases no advantages over those from other countries in import duties or other exactions of this character affecting commerce. In the more prosperous and progressive colonies, the percentage of importations from the mother countries grows somewhat less as the business and prosperity increase.**
>
> The chief British colonies in North America (Canada and Newfoundland), which in 1871 took 50 per cent of their importations from the home country, took in 1896 less than 30 per cent from the United Kingdom; those of South Africa (Cape Colony and Natal), which in **1871 took 83 per cent from the home country, took but 71 per cent in** 1896; those of Australia and the adjacent islands, which in 1876 took 48 per cent from the home country, in 1896 took but 40 per cent. The **French colonies now take from the home country about 42 per cent** of their total imports, while the British colonies obtain about 40 per **cent of their total imports from the home country.**

This shows that the exploitation of colonies for the purpose of monopolizing trade is a vanishing quantity in the civilization of the world; and in the last two or three decades even, in the colonies of Great Britain and France, which those great nations have cultivated and tried to build up as subsidiary to their home markets, the proportion of goods that they have bought from the mother country has been a constantly diminishing quantity. So I say, under the conditions which we at present find the colonizing exploitation schemes of the world's aggressive aggrandizement, they are not in that attitude to tempt us to go there for the purposes of trade.

There is another fact with respect to our own trade which is equally significant as indicative of what

should be our true policy. It is not necessary to own a man in order to sell something to him. It may be very convenient to catch a fellow and tie him down, to build a tariff fortification on one side and an internal revenue fortification on the other, and then say, "Buy this and give me that." It is a scheme which is outworked in the world's progress. It is no longer necessary to buy a man and tie him and hold him and compel him to trade with you. Neither is it necessary to exercise suzerainty after Turkish or Spanish or English or any other fashion in order to trade with people.

With whom to-day is our largest and most profitable trade? From whom do we derive the largest balance that goes into our coffers? From whom do we receive the largest sums for our agricultural products or for our many articles of manufacture which are now possessing the earth, not by colonization, not by the sovereignty of our Government, but which are now conquering the earth and subduing nations to pay tribute to us through the excellence of American workingmen and the cheapness of American products, brought forth by skilled labor, challenging the world to competition? It is Great Britain. She is our first benefactor in the way of trade.

Yet, strange to say, we have not a single strategic island at the mouth of Liverpool Harbor. We have not built a single American castle, after the pattern of Morro, upon the bank of the Thames. At Portsmouth and Southampton and Dover, and at all the other ports of England, our flag comes and goes, and the merchantmen deliver our goods and bring back what we want, and there is no American soldier there, there is no American gun there, there is no Philippine Island there, there is no Hawaiian Island there, there

is nothing there except the superiority of American goods and the Englishman with his money who wants to buy them.

The time has passed in the history of the world when you have to blow your way to trade by dynamite. The time has passed in the history of the world, even in China, when you can build Chinese walls around nations. They say we want to go to the Philippines to open the door of the East. That is progress. Yet others say that when we get in the Philippines to open the door of the East they want to trim down the Declaration of Independence.

They want to viscerate the Constitution of the United States; they want to revise and correct the judicial decisions of Marshall and Taney; they want to upset the Supreme Court, and they want to repeal the free statutes of an American Congress, so as to shut the door behind the Philippines and build an inner wall to keep them from communicating and trading with us. To this complexion we have come at last, so incongruous, so heterogeneous, so contradictory of all we have been and all that we ought to be. We are breaking down our history, repudiating and belittling our principles, and seeking to subvert the whole theory and settled tenure of American progress, and of American rule, just to get and embody in our Commonwealth some scattered, barbarous, or savage islands and people of a mixed and nondescript race.

I desire to insert here from the Democratic Magazine for January, 1899, a summary of who these new Americans are. It is a compilation summarized from the books and papers which have recently been written upon the subject. In the first place, we are to have 25,000 Negritos, aborigines. They have no fixed occupation. They are American citizens, or will be, out

of a job, but ready for one. They are dwarfish as a rule, 4 feet 8 inches in average height; negroid features, hair, and color; tattoed; nearly naked. Their religion is pagan.

In the next place, we have 3,000,000 Tagals and 2,500,000 Visayos. They are Catholic. They are field hands, day laborers, servants, agriculturists, small traders. They are tall and well formed, round head, flat nose, low brow, large dark eyes.

Then we have the Moros, of whom there are 300,000. They are Mohammedans. They are agriculturists, hunters, and fishers, and our noble cod is in danger, for they will fish and fish and their fish will come here in competition with our fish. They are tall and strong, scantily clothed, rather savage-featured.

Then come the Igorrotes. They are pagan. There are 500,000 of them. They live in the mountainous districts. They are dirty and repulsive in appearance, industrious, monogamists, distinct from Malays and Negritos. They are probably of Japanese origin. Then come scattered tribes, 2,000,000, mixed (pagan, Catholic, Mohammedan) altogether. They are found throughout the archipelago. They are hunters, fishers, small agriculturists; varying, some closely resembling Negritos, others equal to Tagals.

Then we have the Spanish, 10,000. Three hundred years of colonization and only 10,000 Spaniards there! How long would it be before there are 10,000 Americans there? There are only a handful now. There are only 200 Englishmen in the city of Manila. The people of our race only touch at the Philippine Islands, and it is touch and go. They stop to have a transaction or to direct a transaction, and as one of our Eastern States was said to be a most excellent State to emigrate from, the Philippine Islands are considered

by all civilized nations whose people have ever been there as a most excellent place to get away from, and as quickly as possible, and they have all got away from there. Even to-day, after three hundred years of occupation, only 10,000 Spaniards have located there.

Then come the Spanish Mestizos, descendants of Spanish fathers and native mothers, 50,000, Catholic. Then come the Chinese, 200,000, Buddhists. They are in every city and town. John Chinaman is everywhere, with his cheap laundry and his cheap transactions in various things. In every city and town he is located. They are merchants, tradesmen, laborers. Every community of any size has its Chinese quota. They are hated by Spaniards and heavily taxed, but they are industrious and prosperous.

Then come the Chinese Mestizos, or mixed breed, 400,000; double the number of the pure and genuine article. They are Buddhists and Catholics. They are in all important communities. There are merchants, tradesmen, dock hands, and laborers.

Then come other nationalities. Under the colonization of Spain, in three hundred years all the other nationalities of these islands, containing some eight or ten million people, amount to only 5,000.

The statement referred to is as follows:

[From the Democratic Magazine for January, 1899.]

INHABITANTS OF THE PHILIPPINES; THE MANY AND MIXED RACES OCCUPYING OUR NEW POSSESSIONS IN THE EAST.

NATIVES.

Negritos (Aetas) aborigines, 25,000, Pagan. Scattered throughout archipelago. No fixed occupation. Dwarfish (4 ft. 8 in. av.). Negroid features, hair, and color; tattooed; nearly naked. Roving bands, subsisting on honey, wild fruits, and roots. Driven to the more inaccessible regions by invading Malays.

Malays: Indonesians-Tagals, 3,000,000, Catholic. Northern and central islands of archipelago. Field hands, day laborers, servants, agriculturists. Tall and well-formed; round head, flat nose, low brow; large, dark eyes. By preference inhabit the lowlands, many

living in pile-built dwellings; easily civilized, musical, lazy and superstitious.

Visayos, 2,500,000, Catholic. Southern islands, save Sulu and Mindanao. Agriculturists, laborers, servants, and small traders. Well developed; regular but somewhat Negroid features. Peaceful, very lazy, vain, fond of fine clothes, cigarettes, and betel nuts; tractable.

Moros, 300,000, Mohammedan. Inland portions of large islands. Agriculturists, hunters and fishers. Tall and strong; scantily clothed; rather savage featured. This class embraces all Malays not civilized and converted to Christianity. Similar to Tagals.

Igorrotes (Igolotes), 500,000, Pagan. Mountainous districts, mostly in Luzon. Agriculturists, miners, and metal workers. Dirty and repulsive in appearance. Most industrious and moral of the native tribes, monogamists; known to be distinct from Malays and Negritos. Probably of Japanese origin.

Scattered tribes, 2,000,000, mixed (Pagan, Catholic, Mohammedan). Throughout archipelago. Hunters, fishers, and small agriculturists. Varying, some closely resembling Negritos, others equal to Tagals. Over sixty dialects among natives. Over thirty languages officially recognized. About 200 tribes in archipelago.

NON-NATIVES.

Spanish, 10,000, Catholic. Mostly in large cities. State, church, and military officials, army and navy. There are few Spaniards in the island outside of army, navy, and church.

Spanish-Mestizos, 50,000, Catholic. Mostly in large cities. Merchants, petty officials. Descendants of Spanish fathers and native mothers.

Chinese, 200,000, Buddhist. In every city and town. Merchants, tradesmen, and laborers. Every community of any size has its Chinese quota. They are hated by Spaniards and heavily taxed. Industrious, prosperous.

Chinese-Mestizos, 400,000, Buddhist and Catholic. In all important communities. Merchants, tradesmen, dock hands, and laborers. Descendants from Chinese fathers and native mothers. Make good business men.

Other nationalities, 5,000, in cities of Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu. Wholesale merchants and traders. Mostly English, German, French, and American. They monopolize wholesale trade.

We are asked to annex to the United States a witch's caldron—

> Black spirits and white, red spirits and gray,
> Mingle, mingle, mingle, you that mingle may.

We are not only asked to annex the caldron and make it a part of our great, broad, Christian, Anglo-Saxon, American land, but we are asked also to annex the contents and take this brew—mixed races, Chinese, Japanese, Malay Negritos—anybody who has come along in three hundred years, in all of their concatenations and colors; and the travelers who have been there tell us and have written in the books that they are not only of all hues and colors, but there are spotted people there, and, what I have never heard of

in any other country, there are striped people there with zebra signs upon them.

This mess of Asiatic pottage, 7,000 miles from the United States, in a land that we can not colonize and can not inhabit, we are told to-day by the fortune of a righteous war waged for liberty, for the ascendency of the Declaration of Independence, for the gift of freedom to an adjoining State, we must take up and annex and combine with our own blood and with our own people, and consecrate them with the oil of American citizenship.

There has never been since time began such a fatuous notion in the breast of a nation. There has never been such condescension from a high ideal and from a noble and manifest destiny. Not only is it a degradation of this American land and of this American race, but the scholars and thinkers of this country, the mighty men who ponder institutions and courses of events, look upon our adoption of these people and our forcible annexation of them as giving the lie to the whole current of American history and repudiating all the great principles of constitutional freedom which we proclaimed at our beginning and which have tended to make us great.

I have no criticism to pronounce upon my colleagues who differ with me. I have no reproaches for those who see their duty differently. I believe the gentlemen who represented our country in Paris acted honestly and conscientiously. I believe the honorable gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber mean only their country's good; but I am amazed, I am startled, I am thrown away from my ordinary bearings and conception of things to think that such gentlemen and such a body should contemplate the adoption of a treaty that utterly scorns and repudiates our

position; that is essentially at war with our institutions; that embodies a country which is no part of the American continent and can not be made so, and that must inevitably take up and work into the destiny of the American people these alien races, or must make us get down from the throne of freedom which we have occupied for one hundred and twenty-five years and condescend with the scrambling nations of the world to get what we can, where we can, and how we can, to the repudiation of our national character and of our settled doctrines and principles.

I wish to read a few words from Professor Sumner. That he is learned and able no man will deny. That he is profound and thoughtful all men know. This is the light in which he regards the treaty:

> The question of imperialism, then, is the question whether we are going to give the lie to the origin of our own national existence by establishing a colonial system of the old Spanish type, even if we have to sacrifice our existing civil and political system to do it. I submit that it is a strange incongruity to utter grand platitudes about the blessings of liberty, etc., which we are going to impart to these people and to begin by refusing to extend the Constitution over them, and still more by throwing the Constitution into the gutter here at home. If you take away the Constitution, what is the American liberty and all the rest? Nothing but a lot of phrases.

And this indeed we have been plainly told here, when the great doctrines of our freedom were quoted, was a lot of phrases, and gentlemen are going to hew out a new path and make new principles upon the mimicry and policy of Great Britain and find their path where they may according to the chance medley of things. There is yet another sentence or two from Professor Sumner which I wish to read:

> The cold and unnecessary cruelty of the Spaniards to the aborigines is appalling, even when compared with the treatment of the aborigines by other Europeans. A modern economist stands aghast at the economic measures adopted by Spain, as well in regard to her domestic policy as to her colonies. It seems as if those measures could only have been inspired by some demon of folly, they were so destructive to her prosperity. She possesses a large literature from the last three centuries, in which her publicists discuss with amazement the question whether it was a blessing or a curse to get the Indies, and why, with all the supposed conditions of prosperity in her hands, she was declining all the time.
>
> We now hear it argued that she is well rid of her colonies, and

that, if she will devote her energies to her internal development, and rid her politics of the corruption of colonial officials and interests, she may be regenerated. That is a rational opinion. It is the best diagnosis of her condition, and the best prescription of a remedy which the occasion has called forth. But what, then, will happen to the State which has taken over her colonies? I can see no answer except that that nation, with them, has taken over the disease, and that it now is to be corrupted by exploiting dependent communities just as she has been. That it stands exposed to this danger is undeniable.

It was the wisest of men who said, "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be * * * and there is no new thing under the sun." But, sir, not until the hour that this treaty was debated in this chamber did the idea come to my mind that it was the destiny of this great American Republic to put on the old clothes of Spain and to take those shining feet which have walked across the heights of freedom and put on them the worn-out shoes of Spain. We have dispossessed her here by our shores of the land which she despised and destroyed, and which she did not lift up, but which pulled her down to its low level. We can not make American citizens of the Filipinos with such conceptions of citizenship as we possess.

Not in a hundred years, nay, not in a thousand years, can we lift the Philippine Islands and the mixed races that there inhabit to the level of civilization which this land, God-blessed, possesses. It is easier to let down and to go down than to rise up. We have risen up through the bloody sweat and turmoil of a thousand years of battle and through bitter experiences which have chastened us. Facilis descensus Averno. The moment that this treaty is ratified, in some future age, if such shall be the case, the historian will say at that moment commenced the decline of American institutions and of the great career which America had set forth to herself to lead upon this earth.

Any way you go, this Republic will stand; this

MOLO RIVER.

MAIN STREET IN JARO.

people will live for hundreds and a thousand of years to come; but I wish that the longevity of this nation might transcend anything that ever had happened before in all the story of time. I would wish that the Declaration of Independence, instead of being belittled, might be carried nearer and closer home to every hearth and hearthstone in all this land; that it might go to the lowly and humble of whatever skin or complexion with the outstretched hand of friendship and with a message of God's love.

I would wish that all might be exalted. But whatever happens, let us not go down. We stand to-day by the bank of a broader and a deeper Rubicon than ever Cæsar meditated beside. At our feet we hear the swash of the great Pacific Ocean, and beyond lies the expansionists' dream—Cæsar's Rome. Cæsar never did wrong without just cause. That is the imperialistic plea. America will not do wrong without a great temptation. That to-day is the expansionists' plea. For my country I hope that she will ne'er do wrong.

Let no glittering temptation of trade, let no gold from the gorgeous East tempt her eye or her hand. She stands to-day the foremost nation of the world. She stands to-day the foremost nation that ever the world has seen. Let her tread with secure and steady steps along her own highways, respecting nations and respecting men, putting into the dream of every child that goes to school that vision of liberty of which the Declaration is the great figure and of which the Constitution is the rock-bound formation. Let her to the tempter of expansion to-day say, as He said who stood upon the mount when the glories of the earth were stretched before Him, "Get thee behind me, Satan."

Peace! Peace! This treaty is not a treaty of peace except in formal ceremony with Spain. It is a declaration of war against the Philippine people, not by Congress, but in necessary and logical effect. We know that the Filipinos are in arms. We know that they have an army of from 12,000 to 30,000. We know that they are seeking to work out their own destiny. The moment that this treaty is adopted the Filipinos are made citizens, and the moment they are made citizens, if they do not instantly lay down their arms they become rebels. The tie of allegiance is created with this Government, and when the President or Commander-in-Chief says, "Our sovereignty is here; lay down your arms," they bear them no longer, under the penalty of death.

My country—may she ever be right; but my country, right or wrong. That is my doctrine. If the treaty is passed, I believe it is constitutional and authoritative. I do not deny the legal or constitutional right. I accept the fate and the decree of my country, and I stand with my people and my kind. At the same time I know what it means. I would that this cup might pass from us. There is a line of battle in the Philippine Islands of a dusky race, who have reared a flag and who have asked that they might be free. The moment this treaty passes, if they do not lay down their arms, it is the duty of the American President to order it, and it is the duty of the American soldier to shoot them to death and to make them lay down their arms under the penalty of execution in battle.

I hope that may not happen. I pray it may not happen. But, oh, if it should happen, what a conclusion is that of a holy and a righteous war begun

for humanity and for liberty, and what justification has this nation before God and man?

The peace of the world! is it going to conduce to the permanent peace of the world to have the forefinger of America dipped into Asiatic politics? I much question it. Lord Salisbury, in that recent memorable speech, which all Senators have noted, declared that it was his opinion that it would help England, but as to the peace of the world, he could not see that it was any assurance of that.

We know that China is in many respects a dying nation. We know that Japan, Russia, France, Germany, and Great Britain, every great nation of the world, is watching China and is trying to get certain advantages there.

If we take the Philippine Islands we put ourselves right there by the gate of war. We announce by taking it that we intend to take the line up there—to follow the flag. The line is far distant. It can not march there; it has got to sail there. It has got to sail 7,000 miles there over tropical seas, around the world in one direction or another. But if it must go, it will go and it will stay. But will that conduce to the world's peace?

The next thing in order to maintain ourselves we must have an ally. We will feel lonesome out there, perhaps, by ourselves. An alliance with some great nation is the next inevitable consequence of this treaty. That nation may be Great Britain.

I rejoice that there have been two great moral effects of our war with Spain. In the first place, more than over any other result do I rejoice that it has made all Americans brethren in verity. If there were wrongs committed, if there were mistakes made, if there were errors for whom our fathers or ourselves

were accountable thirty or forty years ago, thank God it has been wiped out in the blood of our sons. Northern and Southern men, Eastern and Western men, have baptized this nation anew with their blood under the flag.

Next to that, I rejoice that the whole English-speaking race has been brought in closer affinity. I am glad that our motherland and the people of the United States have been brought together in the manner that they ought to be brought together, by their natural relations, by the affinity of blood, and that congenial and friendly feelings exist. But no bond of alliance has been made between them. We have tied ourselves up in no legal or constitutional engagement. Friendship has grown, as it must ever grow, without sealing wax and without parchment.

But if we maintain our position in the East, an alliance is necessary. It will soon come. The first rumor of war that startles our business men and that wakes America to anxiety will throw us into the arms of an alliance of some sort or another with somebody. What does that alliance with one person mean? It means the rest of the world against us. There will be alliances against the alliance. The moment that an alliance is made, then instead of having one chance for war we have two.

If we expect our ally to fight for us, we stand ready at a moment's warning to fight for it. It takes two to make a bargain. Each must be faithful to it. Then, perhaps, we will put a third in the alliance. Then three must stand together or fall together, and around that maelstrom just beginning to eddy on the Asiatic shore; having first pulled American sovereignty out of its natural socket between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, floating in the eddying waters

of the tropical seas, it will bring an alliance there and an alliance against it; and around that standpoint some day will be fought a great battle for some nation in which America and her institutions will be imperiled.

It is the unexpected that happens in such adventures, as it is the unexpected that happens in war. In this way or in some other way such is the tendency of things; some collision of some sort at some time is inevitable.

Now, what are our alternatives? The junior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Lodge) said a few days ago that we have the alternative of ratifying the treaty or rejecting it. He portrayed great difficulties from its rejection. If it is ratified, he said, we will look out for our policies afterwards.

The senior Senator from Ohio (Mr. Foraker) on the 11th of January gave considerable consideration to our alternative, and I will read what he said, because I wish to quote more accurately:

I know whereof I speak—

He said—

when I say that of the four things we had the choice of doing—giving the islands back to Spain, giving them to other countries, leaving them to anarchy, or taking them ourselves—the President acted most wisely when he concluded that we should take them ourselves.

The honorable Senator's analysis of the situation and statement of the alternatives presented to us was complete with a single striking and important exception. He omitted a fifth alternative, or, rather, a differentiation of the fourth. We might take them to ourselves as a sovereign accepting the perpetual sovereignty of them, and thus incorporating them eo instanti as a part of us—as we did with Porto Rico, or we might simply have required Spain to relinquish her sovereignty, and have continued our military

occupation, which is a mere temporary assertion of the strong hand, and left the question of sovereignty and final disposition for future determination.

It is this fifth alternation, an easy and safe and ready and expedient course, which I do most cordially commend. The speech of the Senator from Ohio furnishes itself the reasons why this alternative, as it seems to me, is the wisest one to be pursued. He says:

> I do not know of anybody who wants to take possession of the Philippine Islands and govern the people of those islands indefinitely by force of arms.

Secondly:

> I say I do not know of anybody from the President of the United States down to his humblest follower in this matter who is proposing by force and violence to take and hold these islands for all time to come.

Then, if we are not ready by force and violence to take them if they resist, if we are not ready to follow our sovereignty by the necessary and inevitable corollary of sovereignty, why do that thing which commits us to it? Why accept or assert "sovereignty" there which in its nature contemplates all time to come, and which predicates of itself indefinite, aye, infinite extension?

Why, he says, "there are complications." He justly refrained from motives of prudence and delicacy, which I respect and follow, from stating them. But I will add, however, that my motives have the additional one of ignorance.

But whatever those complications may be, there is none imaginable that could not be dealt with from the standpoint of military occupation, which is transient, momentary, and ambulatory sovereignty without committal as to its prolongation, as by an acceptance of title and sovereignty which is the lordship of the land and of its population forever.

It is for that proposition that I stand. We have the formula of it in the treaty itself with respect to Cuba. That it is acceptable to Spain when we ask it is shown by the fact that where we asked it she adopted it. There is no difficulty in the meantime.

The honorable Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Spooner], who addressed us so ably and candidly on yesterday, said there was no difficulty about our protocol and about our having captured Manila. I have read that protocol. It solves instead of suggesting difficulty, for by its own terms provides that until by treaty we have settled this matter we are to remain in possession of the stronghold of the situation. So we will not stay there as an intruder. We stay there by consent of Spain, and she herself has provided in that protocol the very situation which we would most desire and most comfortably occupy for a waiting period.

So then I say, from the standpoint of that protocol, by Spanish consent occupying the bay and harbor of Manila, exercising our good offices as far as we may to get her prisoners released from the insurgent Filipinos, going on and fulfilling all the details of the protocol with Spain in sending her soldiers back to their native land, there awaits her but one thing, to leave America free from Filipino annexation, in occupation of the theater of the war and in such a condition that honorably, reasonably, she may do henceforth without embarrassment that which seemeth unto her good as a free people.

There are two great leaders of political parties in the United States whose names will never be forgotten, and who, however great may be those who will take their places hereafter, will never be transcended in the hold that they have upon the affec-

tions of the common people of this country. It is fortunate for the country and fortunate for both parties that it is so.

One of those men was Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, the great annexationist of American territory, the man who from the beginning repudiated all annexations of territory ultra mare. The other one of those great leaders was Abraham Lincoln; and, singularly enough and fortunately enough in the contemplation of the great subject which we have before us to-day, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln stand for the same doctrine, and the two parties are made into one stream flowing into the great constitutional channel of American liberty.

Both of these men, more than any men of their day and generation, had confidence in and trusted the common people. Each of them believed that every individual had rights which all men were bound to respect; and if Thomas Jefferson was the author of the Declaration, Abraham Lincoln carried that Declaration severely, exactly, and strictly to its logical and essential consequences. We have just got through that work with the loss of much blood and treasure, and to each gentleman who to-day may hesitate upon this subject, be he a Democrat, I would say: "My friend, follow the teaching and the inspiration of Jefferson;" and, if he be a Republican, "I invoke the spirit and teaching of Abraham Lincoln."

There be those who see an American scepter in the eastern sky. It may be that that scepter is there; but if that scepter be there, it is not a scepter that sparkles by the side of the star that shone over the manger of Bethlehem when the shepherds watched their flocks

at night and when the wise men, looking for the Messiah, came.

No; I would rather invoke to-day that star which hovered over old Independence Hall on the morning of that 4th of July, 1776, when the world waited the deliverance of a mighty message; I would point to that star, the star of the great northern Republic, founded by the great white race of the northern nations; I would say we go on no war of conquest; I would say that we respect the weakest and the most helpless of mankind; I would say to the men who are fighting for their freedom, be they many or be they few, be they in Cuba or be they in the Philippine Islands, that to them the great American Republic gives the salute of honor and dares not condescend to put her foot upon their necks.

I would point again to that bright star that beamed over Independence Hall in the bright morning of our birthright, and I would hope that ever hereafter we might say of it that of its—

> * * * true-fix'd and resting quality
> There is no fellow in the firmament.

Henry van Dyke

CHAPTER XXII.

THE AMERICAN BIRTHRIGHT AND THE PHILIPPINE POTTAGE.

BY REV. HENRY VAN DYKE, LL. D.,

PASTOR BRICK CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.

Hebrews xii: 16. "Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright."

This is the most important Thanksgiving Day that has been celebrated by the present generation of Americans. Three and thirty years have rolled away since we gave thanks for the ending of the Civil War. Never since that time has our national religious festival been observed under such brilliant sunlight of prosperity or with such portentous clouds of danger massed along the horizon.

It is a significant Thanksgiving because we have extraordinary causes for national gratitude. The first and greatest of these causes is the superabundant harvest with which, for the second year in succession, God has rewarded the patient toilers who are the strength and pride of our country. This harvest includes not only the fruits of the earth, but also the manifold products of human industry. The true power of a nation is in the character of its workers. The true glory of a nation is in the quality of their workmanship. The true prosperity of a nation is in the reward which God bestows upon their work. For this reward, far greater than it has ever been before in our history, let us give our first and our deepest thanks.

The second cause for gratitude to-day is the new evidence that we have received of the union of the

whole American people in loyalty and patriotism. The gaping wounds left by the Civil War have closed. There is no bloody chasm between the North and the South. The President presides over a united country, responding as one man to a call to support the national honor; and the brave men who once wore the gray uniform are ready to march again beside the "boys in blue" under the starry flag of American freedom. For this glorious restoration of the spirit of national unity let us give joyous and united thanks.

The third cause for gratitude is the renewal of cordial amity between the two leading nations of the world—Great Britain and the United States. The clouds of jealousy and distrust which have so often risen between England and America seemed to have faded entirely away. These two sister countries, representing in widely different political forms the triumphant spirit of Anglo-Saxon civilization, rejoice together in the clear sunlight of warm and vital sympathy. Such a friendship is nobler and more secure than any kind of partnership. A true and open amity between Great Britain and the United States, undisturbed by any rivalries in the dangerous business of imperial conquest, unthreatened by any secret and selfish compact to divide the spoils of territorial war, would be a powerful guarantee of the peace of the world. For this unchartered friendship with our kinsmen across the sea let us give sincere and prudent thanks.

The fourth cause for thanksgiving to-day is the signal victory that has been granted to our country's arms in a war undertaken for the destruction of the ancient Spanish tyranny in the Western Hemisphere and the liberation of the oppressed people of Cuba. How reluctantly the American people took up the cross of war after thirty-three years of peace none can

know except those who have read the peace-loving heart of the great silent classes, the happy, industrious, prosperous classes, of our country. The call of humanity was the only summons that could have roused them; the cause of liberty was the only cause for which they would have fought. No party, no administration could have received the loyal support of the whole people unless it had written on its banner the splendid motto: *"Not for gain, not for territory, but for freedom and human brotherhood!"* That avowal alone made the war possible and successful. For that cause alone Christians could pray with a sincere heart, and mothers give their sons to death by slaughter or disease, and lovers of liberty take up the unselfish sword. The cause is won; the last vestige of the Spanish power in the Western Hemisphere is broken; Cuba is free. Proud of the splendid discipline and courage and compassion of our navy, proved at Manila and Santiago; proud of the personal bravery of the true heroes in our army who endured unknown hardships, and were patient under incredible difficulties, and who faced with equal daring the pestilence that walked in darkness through the camps of death and the invisible bullets that sang through the cruel sunlight of Guantanamo and San Juan hill; proud and glad of all that American soldiers and sailors have done this year in the cause of liberty, we present our offerings upon the solemn altar of gratitude. For the Divine guidance and protection, without which a victory so complete and swift, even over an inferior foe, could never have been won, let us give most humble and hearty thanks.

But this Thanksgiving Day is not significant alone in its causes for gratitude. It is an important day, a marked day, an immensely serious day because it finds us, suddenly and without preparation, face to face

with the most momentous and far-reaching problem of our national history.

The question that came upon us at the close of the Revolution was serious: Should the liberal colonies separate, or should they unite? But the leaders of the people had been long preparing to meet it; and the irresistible pressure of reason and sympathy consolidated the nation.

The question that came upon us in the Civil War was urgent and weighty: Could the republic continue to exist "half slave, half free?" But again the minds of the wise and fearless were ready with the well-considered answer, wrought out after painful years of conflict. Slavery must die that the republic might live.

The question that comes upon us to-day is less urgent, but it is vaster, more fraught with incalculable consequences.

Are the United States to continue as a peaceful republic, or are they to become a conquering empire? Is the result of the war with Spain to be the banishment of European tyranny from the Western Hemisphere, or is it to be the entanglement of the Western republic in the rivalries of European kingdoms? Have we set the Cubans free, or have we lost our own faith in freedom? Are we still loyal to the principles of our forefathers, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, or are we now ready to sell the American birthright for a mess of pottage in the Philippines?

Nine months ago no one dreamed of such a question. Not one American in five hundred could have told you what or where the Philippines were; if any one thought of their possession as a possible result of the war, he kept the thought carefully concealed.

Six months ago, while Admiral Dewey's triumphant fleet was resting in Cavite Bay, there were not fifty people in the country who regarded his victory as the

first step in a career of imperial conquest in the Far East; the question of reversing a whole national policy and extending our dominion at one stroke of the sword over a vast and populous group of islands in the China Sea was utterly unconsidered.

Without warning, without deliberation, and apparently without clear intention, it has been made the burning question of the day. Never has fate sprung a more trying surprise upon an unsuspecting and ingenuous people. Never has the most difficult problem of a great republic been met so hastily, so lightly or with such inconsiderate confidence. And, as if to add to the irony of the situation, political leaders assure us not only that the question has been raised unintentionally, but also that it has been already settled involuntarily. Without any adequate discussion, without any popular vote, without any intelligent and responsible leadership, by a mysterious and non-resident destiny, by the accident that a Spanish fleet destroyed on the first of May, 1898, was in the harbor of Manila instead of on the high seas, the future career of the American Republic has been changed irrevocably; the nation has been committed to a policy of colonial expansion, and the United States of America have been transformed into the "United States and Conquered Territories of America and the China Sea." Surely this is the veriest comedy of self-government, the most ridiculous blind-man's buff of national development that ever a scorner of democracy dared to imagine. If it were true it would be a humorous commentary on the Declaration of Independence and a farcical finale of the American Revolution.

But, fortunately, it is not true. There is an old-fashioned document called the American Constitution which was expressly constructed to discourage the unconscious humor of such sudden changes. Before

the die is cast the people must be taken fairly into the game; before the result is irrevocable the Supreme Court must pass upon the rules and the play. The question whether the American birthright is to be bartered for the Philippine pottage is still open. A brief preliminary discussion of this question will not be out of place this morning.

I wish to confine the question to the precise form in which it is put. The case of Cuba does not enter into it. There is no proposal at present to do anything more for Cuba than we promised; to guarantee peace, order and free government to a neighboring people. That is a fine thing to do.

Nor do the cases of the Hawaiian islands and Porto Rico come clearly and altogether within the question. The legal government of Hawaii has asked for annexation to the United States; Porto Rico is a small island, close at hand, and inhabited principally by white people who have received us willingly and are already asking for territorial government. Whatever objections there may be to taking such territories under our flag, there is at least no flagrant violation of American principles. No one can say that these islands are annexed absolutely without hope or prospect of their ever becoming a real part of the republic. There is at least some shadow of resemblance between their annexation and the process by which the contiguous territories of Texas and Louisiana were acquired, civilized and incorporated into the Union. The shadow is very thin, to be sure, but it is perceptible.

But in the case of the Philippines there is a glaring difference. No man of intelligence ventures to deny it; many openly rejoice in the difference. The proposal to annex, by force, or purchase, or forcible purchase, these distant, unwilling and semi-barbarous islands is hailed as a new and glorious departure in

American history. A new word—*imperialism*—has been coined to define it. It is frankly confessed that it involves a departure from ancient traditions; it is openly boasted that it leaves the counsels of Washington and Jefferson far behind us forever. Because of this novelty, because of this separation from what we once counted a most precious heritage, I venture to ask whether this bargain offers any fit compensation for the loss of our American birthright?

I. Let us consider the arguments in favor of it. They may be summed up under three heads; the argument from duty, the argument from destiny, and the argument from desperation.

1. The argument from duty comes first, because it is the strongest with honest and conscientious men. Undoubtedly we have incurred responsibilities by the late war, and we must meet them in a manly spirit; but certainly these responsibilities are not unlimited. They are bounded on one side by our rights. The very question at issue is whether we have a right to deny the principles of our Constitution by conquering unwilling subjects and annexing tributary colonies to our domain. On the other side our responsibilities are bounded by our abilities. It is never a duty to attempt a task which there is no prospect of performing with real usefulness. We surely owe the Filipinos the very best we can give them consistently with our other responsibilities; but it is far from being certain that the best thing we can do for them is to make them our vassals. If that were true our whole duty would not be done, the humane results of the war would not be completed, until we had annexed the misgoverned Spaniards of Spain also. No argument drawn from our duty to an oppressed and suffering race can be applied to the conquest of the Philippine Islands which

does not apply with equal and even with greater force to the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula.

2. The argument from destiny is not an argument; it is a phrase. It takes for granted all that is in dispute; it clothes itself in glittering rainbows and introduces the question of debate in the disguise of a fact accomplished. "Yesterday," says a brilliant orator, "there were four great nations ruling the world and dividing up the territories of barbarous tribes—Great Britain, Russia, France and Germany—to-day there are five, for America has entered the arena of colonial conquest." But how came the great Republic in that strange co-partnership? By what device was she led blindfold into that curious company? What does she there? What must she forfeit to obtain her share in the partition of spoils? That is the question. To talk of destiny is not to discuss, but to dodge, the point at issue.

3. The argument from desperation directly contradicts the argument from destiny. It presents the annexation of the Philippines, not as a glorious accomplishment, but as a hard necessity. We must do it because there is nothing else that we can do. A speaker less brilliant than the orator of the five nations, but more cautious, puts the case in a sentence: "We have got a wolf by the ears and we can't let go."

The answer to this is simple. We have not got the wolf at present, though we are trying our best to get hold of him. It is absurd to say that the only way for us to get out of our difficulties is to go into the enterprise of wolf-keeping. Nothing has yet been said or done which binds us to take permanent possession of these islands. Granting that the Philippines need a strong hand to set them in order, it has not been shown that ours is the only hand, nor that we must do it all alone. A protectorate for a limited time and

with the purpose of building up a firm self-government would be one of the possible solutions of the difficulty. To pass this by and say that our only resort is to assume sovereignty of these yet unconquered islands is merely to beg the question.

No, these contradictory arguments from duty and destiny and despair do not touch the real spring of the movement for colonial expansion. It is the prospect of profit that makes those distant islands gleam before our fancy as desirable acquisitions. The argument drawn from the supposed need of creating and fortifying new outlets for our trade has the most practical force. It is the unconscious desire of rivaling England in her colonial wealth and power that allures us to the untried path of conquest; and this in spite of the fact that during the last seven years England, with all her colonies, has lost 5 per cent of her export trade, while the United States, without colonies, have gained 18 per cent. It is a secret discontent in the part of a peaceful, industrious, self-contained nation that urges us to take an armed hand in the partition of the East and exchange our birthright for a mess of pottage.

II. Let us weigh tne arguments against such a course.

1. It is contrary to the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court. The authority of that magnificent tribunal in which the Anglo-Saxon ideal of the supremacy of law is forever embodied, more clearly and powerfully than in any other human institution, is clearly against the legitimacy of a policy of colonial expansion for this Republic as now constituted. The Supreme Court in case of Scott vs. Sanford, 1856, held, "There is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the Federal government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on

the United States or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure. * * * No power is given to acquire a territory to be held and governed permanently in that character."

It is idle and foolish to urge against this that the federal government has the power to make war and to conclude peace. War is to be made and peace concluded in harmony with the Constitution, not over its ruins.

2. Every following step in the career of colonial imperialism will bring us into conflict with our own institutions, and necessitate constitutional change or insure practical failure. Our Government, with its checks and balances, with its prudent and conservative divisions of power, is the best in the world for peace and self-defense; but the worst in the world for what the President called, a few months ago, "criminal aggression." We cannot compete with monarchies and empires in the game of land-grabbing and vassal ruling. We have not the machinery; and we cannot get it, except by breaking up our present system of government and building a new fabric out of the pieces. Republics have not been successful as rulers of colonies. When they have entered that career they have changed quickly into monarchies or empires. The supposed analogy between England and America is a fatal illusion. British institutions are founded, as Gladstone has said, on the doctrine of inequality; American institutions are founded on the doctrine of equality. If we become a colonizing power we must abandon our institutions or be paralyzed by them. The swiftness of action, the secrecy, not to say slipperiness of policy, and the absolutism of control which are essential to success in territorial conquest and dominion are inconsistent with republicanism as America has interpreted it. *Imperialism* and democ-

racy, militarism and self-government are contradictory terms. A government of the people, by the people, for the people, is impregnable for defense, but impotent for conquest. When *imperialism* comes in at the door democracy flies out at the window. An imperialistic democracy is an impossible hybrid; we might as well speak of an atheistic religion, or a white blackness. To enter upon a career of colonial expansion with our present institutions is to court failure or to prepare for silent revolution.

3. There is an equally serious objection to the attempt to launch the United States upon the business of acquiring vassal colonies and governing distant and inferior races, in the poor outfit of our people for such a task.

It is said that we must begin or we shall never learn; the trouble is that we have already begun, but we have not learned. I am not speaking now in the spirit of pessimism or despair of the American people. No man could have a more profound confidence in their native ability, their fundamental integrity, and their ultimate common sense. It is to this common sense that I would appeal for a candid judgment of our preparation for an imperial career at the present moment.

Let us be on our guard against the flattering comparison with England. The English people have a natural genius for governing inferior races—a steady head, an inflexible hand, and a superb self-confidence. What proof have we given of any such extraordinary genius in our dealing with inferior races? Does the comparison of the treatment of the Indians in Canada and in the United States give us a comfortable sense of pride? Is the condition of drunken and disorderly Alaska a just encouragement to larger enterprises? Is our success in treating the Chinese problem and the

Negro problem so notorious that we must attempt to repeat it on a magnified scale eight thousand miles away? The rifle-shots that ring from Illinois and the Carolinas, announcing a bloody skirmish of races in the very heart of the Republic—are these the joyous salutes that herald our advance to rule eight millions more of black and yellow people in the islands of the Pacific Ocean?

England has a magnificent Civil Service at the foundation of her colonial empire. What have we? A recently unstarched Civil Service in New York, a Civil Service in Washington which is threatened with a new and serious crippling, and a persistent endemic of boss-rule all over the country. These things are not good guarantees that we shall send our best, our cleanest, our most educated young men to fill the offices in our distant colonies. And even if we could be sure that such men would be sent, they are more needed at home than they are abroad. We have no such domestic surplus of men and deficit of work as England has. Her tiny territory and immense population mark her necessity, even as our immense territory, not yet fully peopled nor wisely ruled, marks ours. For a country in our position to set out upon the adventure of colonial conquest promises discredit to ourselves and discomfort to our vassals. With our unsolved problems staring us in the face, our cities misgoverned and our territories neglected, the cry of today—not the cry of despair, but the cry of hope and courage—must be "Americans for America!"

4. Another weighty argument against the annexation of the Philippines is the frightful burden which it will almost certainly impose upon the people.

First, a burden of military service. If we do this thing we dare not do it half-way. A great colonial power must have an army and a navy equal to any in

QUAY AT ILOILO, SUGAR DRYING IN THE FOREGROUND.

PLAZA AND CHURCH IN ILOILO.

the world. An expansion of territory to a line ten thousand miles away means a new frontier of danger which can only be defended by an enormous armament. No one can tell how large a military force we must ultimately create. But this any one can foretell: the ranks must be kept full; and if Americans do not thirst for garrison duty in the tropics they must be compelled or bought to serve. On the one hand we see a system of conscription like that of Germany, where every man-child is born with a soldier's collar around his neck; on the other hand we see an enormous drain upon the earnings of the people, like England's annual budget of $203,000,000 for the army and navy.

Second, a burden of heavy taxation. The cost of militarism comes out of the pockets of the people. So far as armies and navies are needed, their expense must be cheerfully borne. I am no advocate of parsimony in national defense; our American navy has been worth all that it has cost; and if our army has disappointed us in any way it is because we have not realized its importance, nor treated it with generosity and prudence. But to willfully increase our need of military force by an immense and unnecessary extension of our frontier of danger is to bind a heavy burden and lay it upon the unconscious backs of future generations of toiling men. If we enter the course of foreign conquest, the day is not far distant when we must spend in annual preparation for wars more than the $180,000,000 that we now spend every year in the education of our children for peace.

Third, a burden of interminable and bloody strife. Expansion means entanglement; entanglement means ultimate conflict. The great nations of Europe are encamped around the China Sea in arms. If we go in among them we must fight when they blow the trum-

pet. Lord Salisbury says with characteristic frankness:

> The appearance of the American Republic among the factors, at all events, of Asiatic, and possibly of European diplomacy, is a grave and serious event which may not conduce to the interests of peace, though I think, in any event, it is likely to conduce to the interest of Great Britain.

Hear the unintentional warning of an interested friend! Colonial expansion means coming strife; the annexation of the Philippines means the annexation of a new danger to the world's peace. The acceptance of *imperialism* means that we must prepare to beat our ploughshares into swords and our pruning hooks into spears, and be ready to water distant lands and stain foreign seas with an ever-increasing torrent of American blood. Is it for this that philanthropists and Christian preachers urge us to abandon our peaceful mission of enlightenment and thrust forward, sword in hand, into the arena of imperial conflict?

5. But the chief argument against the forcible extension of American sovereignty over the Philippines is that it certainly involves the surrender of our American birthright of glorious ideals. "This imitation of Old World methods," said one of our most powerful journals, a few months ago, "by the New World appears to us to be based upon an entire disregard, not merely of American precedence, but of American principles."

I do not speak now of our word of honor, tacitly pledged to the world, when we disclaimed "any disposition or intention to exercise any sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said islands, except for the pacification thereof." It is said that this was a limited promise; that it was meant to be taken in a Pickwickian sense, that it applies only to the island of Cuba. Pass it by.

But how can we pass by the solemn and majestic

claim of our Declaration of Independence, that "Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed?" How can we abandon the principle for which our fathers fought and died: "No taxation without representation?"

Men have told me that it is a useless task to discuss the question that we have been considering this morning. It is too late. A distinguished diplomatist (one who believes that the war with Spain might have been avoided if he had been given more time to complete his negotiations) said to me the other night: "You argue in vain. It is no more possible to check *imperialism* than it would be to stop the chip that has gone over Niagara Falls." I, for one, refuse to believe in the disastrous simile. There is still time to avert, or at least to modify, the catastrophe if the people will but realize what it means. There is still time to utter a sincere protest against the final commitment of the Republic to the new and perilous policy of undisguised *imperialism*. There is still time to call for a halt and an intelligent discussion, before an archipelago of conquered islands on the other side of the globe is made a permanent part of the domain of the United States of America.

Anonymous patriots have written to warn me that it is a dangerous task to call for this discussion. It imperils popularity. The cry of to-day is: "Wherever the American flag has been raised it never must be hauled down." The man who will not join that cry may be accused of disloyalty and called a Spaniard. So be it, then. If the price of popularity is the stifling of conviction, I want none of it. If the test of loyalty is to join in every thoughtless cry of the multitude, I decline it. I profess a higher loyalty—*allegiance to the flag, not for what it covers, but for what it means.*

There is one thing that can happen to the American

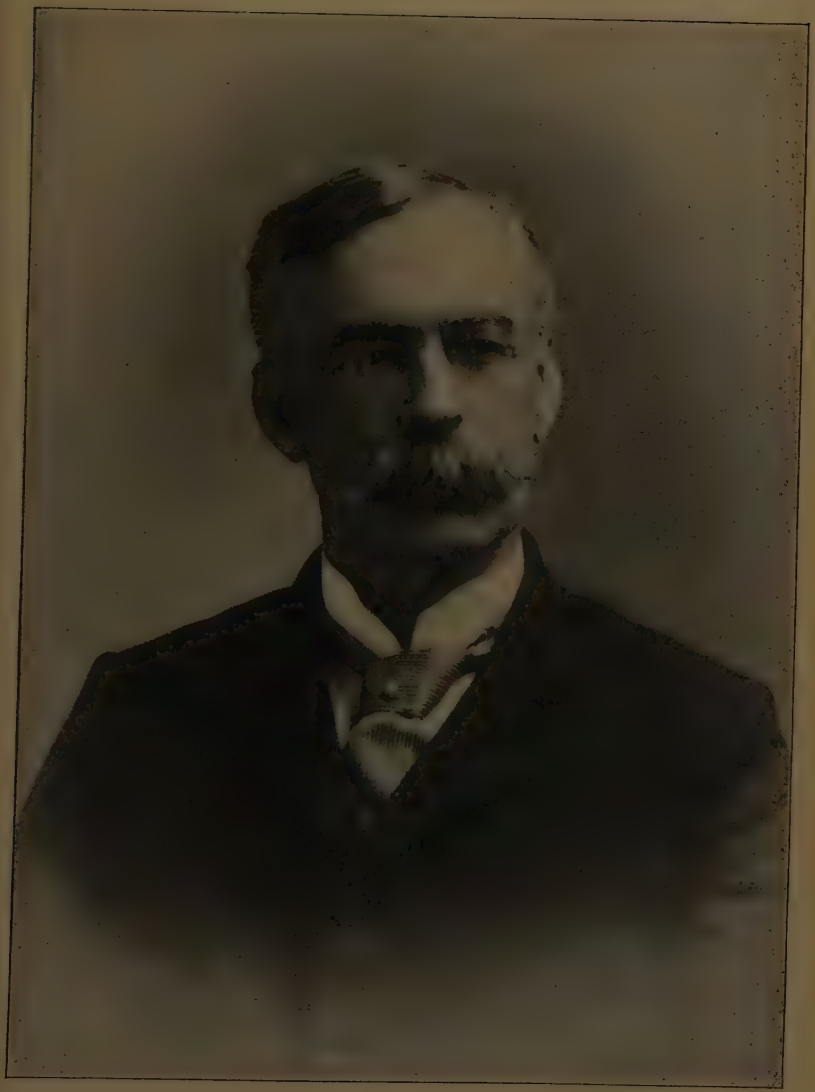
flag worse than to be hauled down. That is to have its meaning and its message changed.

Hitherto it has meant freedom, and equality, and self-government, and battle only for the sake of peace. Pray God its message may never be altered.

May the luster of its equal stars never be dimmed by the shadow of the crowned imperial eagle. May its stripes of pure red and white never be crossed by the yellow bar-sinister of warfare for conquest. May it never advance save to bring liberty and self-government to all beneath its folds. May it never retreat save from a place where its presence would mean disloyalty to the American idea. May it float untarnished, and unchanged, save by the blossoming of new stars in its celestial field of blue. May all seas learn to welcome it, and all lands look to it as the emblem of the Great Republic; the mountain-peak of nations, lonely, if need be, till others have risen to her lofty standard.

God keep her from lowering her flag from that proud solitude of splendor to follow the fortunes of the conquering sword.

God save the birthright of the one country on earth whose ideal is not to subjugate the world, but to enlighten it.



H. D. Money

CHAPTER XXIII.

LET US NOT WITH OUR OWN HANDS STAIN THE IMMACULATE SHIELD OF AMERICAN ARMS.

BY HON. HERNANDO D. MONEY,
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MISSISSIPPI.

In the history of the Roman republic there were times of great public exigency and of national peril, when the senate called from his place some great man and put into his hands the supreme authority of the republic. They said to him, "We suspend all laws, all courts, all civil processes, and we invest you with absolute power. But before you assume this great and exclusive authority we place one last command upon you, 'See that the republic shall suffer no detriment.'"

I feel that the American people, triumphant in the grandest experiment ever made upon this planet for self-government, have imposed upon each one of us who sits here in judgment that solemn injunction, "See that the Republic suffers no detriment."

In the first place, I want to say that I concede fully the right of the United States of America to acquire territory by conquest, by purchase, by peaceful and voluntary annexation, and in the other ways competent to the sovereignties of the world.

I will undertake also to acknowledge that the treaty-making power has the right to negotiate by all the advantages of the situation, so far as Spain is affected, to secure the rewards of victory—"the spoil of our

bow and of our spear." But I shall also argue, after Jefferson, Calhoun, and other men who respected the Constitution, that the treaty-making power, of which to-day we are a part, can only act within the limitations of the Federal Constitution, and that its actions and results must be in accord with the theory, structure, and objects of our Government.

It has been contended that the Constitution of the United States, the organic law of the land, the creator of the Senate and of the Executive, can not run in its full force in the whole domain of the United States; that it must be carried to Territories and dependencies by the law of the Congress; in other words, that the creature of the Constitution is more fully endowed with force and authority than its creator.

I deny that proposition. I care nothing for the quotations made here of decisions and of statutes, in every one of which the circumstances have not been detailed which led to the dictum or the judgment. They do not shake my conviction that wherever the flag of the United States floats, whether on sea or land, all of that domain which it brings within our jurisdiction is under and subject to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

When we acquire territory, by whatever manner, ipso facto over that acquisition exists the Constitution. Without that Constitution our bonds are dissolved and we are no longer a nation. By agreement with that instrument the laws of Congress have force and effect everywhere—in Territories, organized or unorganized, as well as in the States. Everywhere the test of life of the law is obedience to the Constitution. The Constitution is around and over the domain of the United States, as the atmosphere that envelopes the globe. It has the force, continuous and uninter-

rupted, of gravity itself; and though it may not manifest itself, it will do so whenever its creatures, the Congress and the President or the judiciary, shall do something which is repugnant to or inconsistent with its provisions.

The Constitution declares of itself that "this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." Of what land? Is it that land which is inclosed within the borders of the States and organized Territories, or is it the land wherever the jurisdiction of the United States is asserted? What authority has the United States itself anywhere but in and under this Constitution? By what device can a part be greater than the whole, or a part of an instrument go further than the instrument itself? Can it be an act of Congress can deny to any person the bill of rights given by the Constitution? How absurd the claim that a law of Congress can have a wider range than that Constitution, by whose consent the law may live. Where this Constitution is not, there can not be a law of Congress, nor jurisdiction of the Government of the United States, nor the United States themselves.

Senators who favor the ratification of the treaty have taken two positions regarding the inhabitants of the archipelago. They are concerned for the welfare of the Filipinos. It is asserted that they are unfit for self-government, and therefore it is unwise to put in this treaty anything which leaves them to themselves to organize their own government which will meet their peculiar needs. On the other hand, others assert that they are sufficiently civilized to enter into a half citizenship, and in that doubtful character will

be a valuable acquisition to the population of the United States. Others speak of them as savages, to be dealt with according to our sovereign pleasure, as were our Indians. They are or they are not capable of becoming citizens, and between these dangerous Symplegades I do not see how those gentlemen are to steer their boat. If the Filipinos are not fit for self-government, then they are not fit for citizens of the United States. If they are fit for self-government or independent government, then it is our duty to let them take care of themselves in the way best suited to their intellectual, their moral, and material development. "The glorious privilege of independence" is as much their right as ours, as sweet to the lower as to the higher capacity, as dear to half-civilized as to enlightened nations, and the free people who deny liberty to those who have aspired, struggled, and died for it shall not be justified by the material gains they may hope to secure.

I realize the advantage of the possession of an archipelago that for 1,200 miles extends along the whole front of China. Perhaps Manila, as a free port, under American rule, would become the greatest emporium in the whole Orient in the progress of time, probably in a few decades. I know that our commerce would have a foothold, a coign of vantage there that would be to our profit; but while these advantages would help, they are not indispensable, and our commerce advances apace lacking them.

It happens that this country, which some gentlemen on this floor have called isolated (but which is in communication by telegraph and by steamer with every country on the face of the globe), has in its isolation, so called, during the last seven years increased its exports 18 per cent, while Great Britain, colonizing

almost the whole of the earth held by the inferior races, has suffered a decrease of 5 per cent in the same period?

If England, with colonies that reach around the globe, and which occupy an area of more than three times the whole of the United States, can not hold her markets by colonization, and if we encroach upon her in the markets which have hitherto been hers, what is the force of this commercial argument upon the Senate?

France also extended her dominion to extend her trade. She is the second in area of the great colonizing powers of the earth, yet we are informed that a few days ago M. Pelletan, the French minister, discussing the budget in the Chamber of Deputies, attacked the colonial system, declaring that France spent $16,000,000 annually on her colonies and obtained nothing except an increase in exports, in which there was a profit, perhaps, of $4,000,000. There was, in fact, no French colonization at all, but only military occupation. He entirely disbelieved, while the army cost $200,000,000 and the debt another $200,000,000, in the wisdom of spending $16,000,000 for the pleasure of ruling foreign populations. And what has been her loss in drain upon her manhood, energy, and brains, in blood more precious than her treasures?

I did not intend, however, to go particularly into details upon this point, but I will make this general remark, that England herself now sees the futility of this vast colony holding in promoting her foreign trade, and we have the expression deliberately made by the British administration that England no more desires to colonize and gain territory; that she only seeks trade; that she only asks open ports. While Germany, France, and Russia are disputing for pos-

session of the territory of China, England in her struggle for open ports invokes our assistance. Yet Lord Salisbury, at the Lord Mayor's banquet the other night, declared that while the assistance which the United States would render when she becomes a factor in the oriental problem would be vastly beneficial to England, yet he doubted if it would conduce to peace. Yet Senators here advance the argument that we can not turn loose the Philippines unless we precipitate a war between the great European powers for the distribution of those islands among themselves. If such war comes, we will not be a party to it. If we seize and hold the islands for the benevolent purpose of preventing other nations from quarreling over them, we will inaugurate a war with the Malays of which I can not see the cost nor the end.

While I would do anything that would be proper to advance the commerce of the United States, yet it has not been proved that the extension of our commerce is dependent upon our possession of the Philippines, but, on the contrary, we are outstripping our competitors. The commerce of the United States, fortunately for this great Republic, has been founded more wisely upon the superior skill of its artisans; and in this, as in the public defense, it is the workingman who is the solid foundation of our prosperity and greatness. Superior excellence has carried our wares into the shops in all the cities of Europe, and in this day, when transportation is rapid and communication is instantaneous, there has been a reversal of the old feeling. It is Europe that fears America in industrial competition, and instead of depending upon the aid proposed here for fostering commerce, that Europe is alarmed, and the Austrian premier has suggested the idea to the chancelleries of the Old World that there

must be a union of European powers against the trade of America. We find the protectionist system turned against us, and instead of walling ourselves in, we are about to be walled out by the manufacturing and agricultural interests whose "pauper labor" has been the bogie man for some and an exhaustless mine of wealth for others.

That which carries American commerce abroad is not the protection of this Government; it is not that the flag of the fighting navy of the United States is found on every sea and in every port; it is the superior skill of the American workingman, who demands a larger wage, a better living, a larger reward, as his share of the fruits of his industry, than any other workingman on this globe.

Nevertheless, this is an enticing topic, and I can understand how a man from a great commercial city will yield to the importunities of boards of trade and chambers of commerce, and will conclude to give his vote, neglectful of the general best interests of the country. The men who plow, who sow, who reap, who harvest, who create, are at last the foundation of this nation's prosperity, and they make the threat of a wall being raised against our exports idle and ineffectual. We can afford to laugh to scorn any threat of that sort.

This is a critical moment, when a turn of the wrist will send the wheel to the right and carry the ship home and safe into harbor, or a turn to the left will lay her upon the rocks; and whether the turn shall be dexter or sinister, the future shall give judgment. It is a serious thought that we are about to do something for which our posterity may blush; that in the very exuberance of our strength we are about to exercise it without judgment or mercy; that we esteem

but lightly the rights, the liberties, the sacrifices of a people who for one hundred years have groaned under the tyranny of aliens. Are all these 10,000,000 people—nobody knows how many—unworthy of any consideration in this vast international transaction?

It is said that we have not treated with these people as allies or as auxiliaries. Let us not deceive ourselves, for we shall not deceive anybody else. Senators fear that we will lose prestige if we recede from the advanced step which they say we have taken, and we have heard a lot of rant and fustian that would do credit to a lot of barn-storming tragedians about hauling down the flag. We all know that no hand but the hand of an American will ever do that. Of this we are perfectly satisfied. When we lower the colors, it will be because national honor and good faith demand it, and not otherwise.

After Dewey's glorious victory in Manila Bay our consul, corresponding with him, asked if Aguinaldo could be of any service. Aguinaldo, as you recollect, is a man who in some quarters has been described as a sort of blackguard insurgent and a traitor against the United States. He never yet owed allegiance to us, and we have not had possession of his country. He has been proclaimed from time to time an adventurer, a traitor, and a bandit, and insulted by other opprobrious epithets. The records submitted to us for our guidance and information in this matter, from which I presume our able and efficient commissioners derived their information, show that this man has had a most honorable career, that he is a brave, honest, sincere, and able man, and that with all his opportunities he is poor.

There had been a long and bloody struggle between Spain and her revolted subjects in the islands

MAIN STREET IN ILOILO.

STREET SCENE IN ILOILO.

both parties had suffered and were weary of the struggle, and to secure peace a treaty "or agreement" was entered into. Spain agreed to correct abuses in the civil administration and introduce many reforms, and to pay a large sum of money for the widows and orphans of the insurgents who had fallen in battle. On their side the Tagals were to cease hostilities, and as a guarantee of tranquillity Aguinaldo and about fifty of his principal followers were to expatriate themselves. Four hundred thousand dollars was paid in cash to Aguinaldo, who, with his fellow exiles, went to Hongkong. No part of the balance of the stipulated sum was ever paid. One of Aguinaldo's officers sued for a division of the money. The dispute was settled by a payment out of court of $5,000 to the claimant. Aguinaldo was living modestly at Hongkong, declaring that the money was a trust fund and could not be put to a private use, and as the Spanish had failed to keep their promise of reform, it should be devoted to the purposes of another rebellion, and it was expended in the purchase of the munitions of war.

These people purchased arms to do what? To acquire their liberty, to conquer their liberty—these people, who had groaned for a hundred years under exactions and tyranny in comparison with which those which drove our forefathers into rebellion in 1776 were trivial—these people, not discouraged by repeated failures nor by bloody punishment, were making another effort, as they had been doing again and again for a hundred years. Then Aguinaldo was sent for, not to excite insurrection against Spain, but to control these forces already organized in rebellion in the interests of the American attack upon the Spanish forces in Manila and the islands of the Philippines. This is evidenced by the proclamation of the

junta at Hongkong, by the proclamation of the junta at Singapore, by the correspondence of our consul, Mr. Pratt, at Singapore, of Mr. Wildman, at Hongkong, and of Mr. Williams, in the city of Manila.

Aguinaldo, on his part, promised that he would conduct the war with humanity; that he would control the forces that were operating against the Spanish at that time around Manila, and he was only put on board ship at Singapore when Commodore Dewey telegraphed, "Send Aguinaldo at once." He went to Hongkong and there he put himself into the hands of another American consul, Mr. Wildman, who, in the secrecy of night, to prevent any interference, himself put Aguinaldo and 17 of his officers on board the U. S. S. McCulloch and sent them to Manila. There he was put ashore and taken to the arsenal at Cavite and was furnished by the Americans with the arms which he required.

The chiefs who were carrying on this revolution throughout the different provinces rallied around him and made him their leader. They came promptly in and gave their adhesion to him. Then the correspondence continued between General Anderson, commanding the American forces, and General Aguinaldo, commanding the insurrectionary forces of the Philippines. He was asked to give passes to our officers to go through his lines and was requested to furnish us with the material of war. He did give us carts, bullocks, horses, firewood, and everything else we demanded of him. In these communications he is called our ally; in others he is called our auxiliary; but in every instance, unaware of the instruction of our State Department, he trusted to the open declarations of our civil and military officers that he was our ally and auxiliary. It makes no difference what our

mental reservations were, Aguinaldo acted in good faith, and we are compelled to make those people understand that we are not to repudiate the understanding which we gave of our relation to them.

"True hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood."

Are these people capable of independent government? The question is not of self-government. There are but two self-governing peoples on this globe, and one of them maintains its existence because neutrality is guaranteed by the great powers of Europe. Others have the form of a republic, but not the genius and spirit. They are good enough republics on paper, but in practice they fall short of the principles which they declare. The Asiatic mind, in my opinion, never will conceive the idea of self-government as we understand and as we practice it.

Take France for an example. That nation while a monarchy was for more than a hundred years in the very fore front of civilization. She gave to the world art, science, literature, and manners—everything that adds to the politeness and refinement of the human race. But self-government finds difficulties, not insurmountable, perhaps, which seem to inhere in the genius of her people and menace the stability of their government. I, for one, do not believe that there is in the Latin nations that capacity for self-government which the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon mind conceives and has put in successful operation.

The illiteracy in Luzon is not one-third of what it is in the peninsula of Spain. They have at least been well taught by the monastic orders.

But this government which is now organized and of which Aguinaldo is the head has been denounced as a dictatorship. Aguinaldo did that thing which is the

common thing and the proper thing and the only thing to do in the history of insurrections. He did what we did, what every South American country did, what Greece did, what every insurrectionary country that seeks to relieve itself from tyranny has done. First they went to war in scattered bands, with little organization; then they came together without a head; then there was a dictatorship, as George Washington was appointed dictator, as Simon Bolivar was appointed dictator. After that was done, which was simply a tentative and provisional form of government, when "peace comes and broods over a country with its white wings like a dove," "when war's wild blast has blown," the people organizel the real government; and these are only preparatory steps leading up to that conclusion.

What kind of men is it that compose the Filipino Congress? The latest writer, Mr. Roberson, who visited the Congress while in session, gives a very favorable account of their character and ability. Of the 83 members sitting 17 were graduates of European universities, and the president, Pedro Paterno, took his degree as D. D. in the University of Madrid, and afterward received his degree of LL. D. from the University of Salamanca. He is an author of such reputation that his books have been translated into German.

Major Bell, the chief of our secret service at Manila, under passes from Aguinaldo, visited many of the Philippine bands and became personally acquainted with many of their leaders. He speaks of them as brave, honest, and patriotic. Only two are called dishonest, and the adjutants he esteems bright, educated and patriotic.

These are the men whom it is now proposed to sac-

rifice in order that we may have certain commercial advantages in the Orient. I ask you, Senators, does that commend itself to your consciences as representatives of the American people, as the custodians of their honor, their dignity, their majesty? I ask you, is that consistent with your sense of justice?

These people have an organized army. Nobody denies that. Mr. Robinson, who has been to the capital, says that Aguinaldo has to-day 65,000 men, well trained, well armed; that the provinces contain 2,000,000 people who acknowledge allegiance to this provisional government, and that a greater supply of men can be had when they are wanted. Those are the people we are to disfranchise; those are the people we are to declare incapable of taking care of themselves; those are the people we are to subdue by arms. Whenever we shall ratify this treaty and the President shall issue his proclamation to the people of Manila, he should pin on the door of the national palace, with a sword, the declaration that we have not gone forth to conquer, but we have gone forth to defend the right. What a terrible commentary upon the honesty of the American Congress if in a war we said we had begun because humanity no longer could hear the cries and groans of those who suffered at our doorsteps, that we would not be passive a moment longer while these people were suffering and struggling and fighting for liberty in Cuba, when we declared that we were engaged in the holiest business that could occupy the minds of men—if in the case of the Philippines we should now repudiate that declaration.

"The sweetest libation that liberty draws is from the hearts that break and bleed in her cause." Is that true as to the West Indies and untrue as to the East

Indies? Is a Cuban to be cherished and to be the subject of anxious solicitude, for whom we pour out our blood and our treasure, and the Malay, at the other end of the world, under the same circumstances, with increased aggravation to incite rebellion, not only not to receive our sympathy but to be subjugated to our power? Have we gone into the business of buying men?

Now, I know very well that it will be said that the people go with the land, and that if we take the cession of territory under the treaty they go with it. That is true.

But I wish to ask if it was not the extremity of Spain that gave us the islands under such circumstances? In old times, when there was little law, international or otherwise, in the termination of conflicts the law of uti possidetis always prevailed; that is, every man kept what he had. It was—

> "The good old rule,
> * * * the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

That was the practice of nations. As we increased in civilization and respect for law, then we began to engage in exchanges, and at last, after struggle and travail, we began to consider human rights, to consider the men going with the land; and for that reason I say that the very moment this treaty is ratified by the Cortes of Spain and becomes a part of the municipal law of this land, as it does under the Constitution, every living soul in the islands becomes a citizen of the United States of America, a citizen amenable to its laws and privileged and endowed with all the muniments of title to liberty by the Constitution of the United States. That is true not only of every child born there but of every man there.

Further, that it was so considered in the forming of this treaty, else there would be no point in the provision made there that every resident of the islands should have the privilege within a stated time of going before an officer and recording his intention of retaining his allegiance to Spain. The allegiance passes with the possession, and these people are citizens whenever this treaty is ratified. Not citizens with the right to vote, because that is a privilege which only the States can confer. They will be citizens, however, in the sense that they are under the ægis of the Constitution, and I defy Congress or the Executive to do one single act that would impair the rights of a citizen of Alaska or the Indian Territory or the territory we propose to take now by purchase or subjugation.

Under the law of uti possidetis, by the arbitrament of arms, what would we take if we settled upon that ancient custom? We would have the sandy point of Cavite, and that would be all. The attack upon Manila was made the day the protocol was signed, and was made through ignorance of our officers, of course, and under the laws of nations it would have been our duty to immediately put back into the hands of the Spaniards what we had taken. The law of nations requires that upon a change of situation of that sort, made without knowledge of the truce, the offending party shall place things in statu quo as far as possible.

Now of the rights of the Filipinos in this matter: They are capable of independent government as good as any which they have ever enjoyed, for they could not to save their lives form a government that would be so iniquitous and so oppressive as that of the monastic order that held sway in the islands and disposed of governors, general officers, and people as they saw

fit. There can be no worse government than that.

Another thing. This cession of territory which we have acquired some say is by conquest, but we all know it was by purchase, unless "conquest" means that we have so reduced the strength of our enemy to resist, so reduced his ability to cope with us, that he is prostrate at our feet. In that sense we have made a conquest. In that sense we could take territory from the Pyrenees to the Mediterranean. The whole peninsula was subject to us. It was conquest in that sense. But if it means occupation, then I deny that we occupied the Philippines at all, if the protocol was of any effect; and nobody can deny that.

I ask, then, what would you do with these people 9,000 miles away? Why was Warren Hastings, after he had been Governor-General of India, impeached before the House of Lords by the most brilliant array of orators that figured in British history? When Lord Clive, whose genius shed imperishable luster upon British arms, came back loaded with laurels, and, unfortunately, with money also, to enjoy his honors in England, notwithstanding the glamour of the great victory at Plassey, he was investigated by a committee. He said, "Gentlemen, when you accuse me of these things and I consider my opportunities, I am astonished at my own moderation."

What may be done to the Filipinos is one thing which has not been determined, it seems, in anybody's mind. Yet it does seem, before we fix irrevocably this law, which is to be the supreme law of the land, that somebody ought to formulate a policy. Who is going to do it? I have been told that they are waiting for Congress to adjourn, that the President and his Cabinet may get up a form of government for the Filipinos. That is pretty cool, when we consider the

fact that the Constitution devolves that power upon Congress and not upon the Executive; that it is not the business of the President—and I speak with great respect of him personally and for his high office. I say it is none of his business about the form of government. That is a matter which concerns this body and the House of Representatives. It is not only their prerogative, but is a duty which the Constitution imposes, and which they can not shirk or avoid.

It has been considered almost a crime here to oppose the Executive. That is another danger. The subserviency of the Senate to the Executive is one of the dangers of this situation. Let this co-ordinate branch of the Government maintain its dignity and power, such power as is granted to it by the Constitution.

Some newspapers demanded that we should vote upon this treaty before it had been presented to us by the Committee on Foreign Relations. Those who did not agree to it in form without amendment were denounced as obstructionists before the slightest effort was made at progress, and at last, in their importunate eagerness for us to do something without deliberation, to discharge a momentous duty without due consideration, some part of the press lapsed into a condition of fretful and feverish mendacity which reflected on every man who opposed the treaty unamended, who did not agree to vote for the treaty.

This representation of obstruction was put out daily in the press, and it was said that the debate on the Maritime Canal Company was a part of the scheme of obstruction, when no effort had been made to bring forth the treaty, and when a little inquiry would have shown that this side of the Senate was ready to debate or to vote whenever they were invited to do so.

Those people who feel that this country would lose something of its prestige if we retired from the advanced step taken in the flush of victory, if the flag were taken down, are totally without justification for their anxiety.

Would this country suffer in the moral esteem of the universe if, after having exacted this much from an overthrown adversary, we should recede from that large demand; if we should say, "We have concluded that we will not take the sovereignty of the Philippines; that we will not be a factor in oriental complications; that we will not be a world power in the sense that we are to interfere and have a say in every discussion as to partition of territory and trade in the East; that we will not conquer and subjugate the Filipinos; but will be moderate; we will be generous; we will be magnanimous in our treatment of these people;" and we will say to Spain, "Here, take the third article back. You have ceded your sovereignty to us; we do not wish sovereignty there. Say now that you will relinquish your sovereignty in the Philippine Islands, and we will say on our part to the Filipinos, who have relied upon us, to some extent at least, 'Take your country and do with it what you will?'"

I do not mean an immediate evacuation, whose horrors have been portrayed upon this floor, but evacuation as the necessity of the case will permit; the withdrawal of American troops from Manila as from the island of Cuba; a protectorate sufficient to maintain public order; a protectorate sufficient for this government in embryo to organize itself formally and perfectly, to set itself in operation, to put its hand upon public affairs, and to begin the administration of them. Then we should retire. Would we suffer in the es-

teem of Spain? Would we suffer in the esteem and friendship of the Filipinos? Would we suffer in the esteem and respect of Europe generally? No, but the great Republic would immensely add to her reputation for honor, for magnanimity, for generosity, for love of freedom, if we made this concession.

But in the flush of victory we think only of our advantages. This is a time when, in my opinion, we ought to be cool; we ought to be collected. There never was a moment in the history of this Republic that we could more solemnly join that invocation of the "Recessional"—

> "Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
> Lest we forget, lest we forget."

In the hot flush of triumph protect us from ourselves. Let us not with our own hands stain the immaculate shield of the American arms. Let us not with our own hands degrade the banner of our authority in any land.

Leaving out of calculation the taxes that will be exacted from the working people and the producers of this country, leaving out all these things that tend to a larger establishment of Army and Navy, we have to consider this further fact. It may be immaterial to some. It may seem inconsequential to some, but to my mind it is the most serious in all this most serious controversy. What effect will the military occupation of the islands, 9,000 miles away, comprising 10,000,000 people, have upon the American character? This Government is founded upon a presupposition of the ability and capacity of the man, individually speaking, to understand liberty and his rights, and his courage to maintain them. The permanence of our free institutions depends altogether upon whether we can maintain this high type of manhood in this coun-

try. I will ask you whether there will not be attacks made upon its foundation when we begin military occupation of the Philippines with this ulterior design?

We put into the hands of a class or a party or a man, when the time may be ripe for such a man, a great force with which our people have become familiarized, which they now dread, which they now fear, and the result will be that the introduction here will be easy of that which is now considered impossible. If any one thing can be done that will change the American type, if there is one single fact which will incapacitate them for self-government—in other words, which will destroy their individuality, destroy their demand for participation in governmental affairs, that will impair their jealousy of military power—that thing should not be done. These things may come to plague us in years to come. They are not impossible, they are not improbable; but, on the contrary, in my humble opinion, there will not be many decades before the policy that is now applied to the Philippines will be brought upon the American citizen himself.

Another thing. We are told that we want peace; that we want to get the volunteers home. We all do. Everybody wants peace. I want the volunteers brought home. They have that right. They did not enlist for garrison duty. They did not enlist for a subjugating war. They enlisted for freedom. The struggle is over, the cause won, the banner flies triumphant, and they have a right to come home and be dismissed from the military service. They are not professionals pursuing a vocation; they are the citizen soldiery, who have other business.

I do not suppose that any Senator is in any sense determined in his conduct in this or any other great

matter except by the convictions of his own mind and that he is prepared to face the consequences. The American people will exercise a revisory judgment over the action that will be taken here. When the bills come in for the war with the Philippines, when one demand after another is made for volunteers, when the sick are brought home to get well and to die, when they perish in that tropical climate, so inimical to Europeans that after three hundred years of occupation the Spanish have only 16,000 residents upon the island, when these misfortunes come upon us, and when we have been stigmatized by the lovers of freedom as being false to the promise made, at least to the hope if not to the ear, when we have suffered in consequence in our own self-respect, then I believe that the American people will pass such judgment upon this action as will deter anything similar in the future.

Every man here holds his conscience in his own keeping; he is responsible for his own act, and I for one will feel recreant to myself, recreant to my high office, recreant to my duty to humanity, recreant to my duty to human liberty everywhere, if I fail to give my negative to a treaty that sold away the liberty of 10,000,000 human beings who, after a struggle of one hundred years, demonstrated through blood and suffering and sacrifice their worthiness for a better fate than is proposed. These men have struggled under every disadvantage. The Malay character has been developed in the ordeal of fire and blood to an excellence not attained by their kindred in any other part of the world. A hundred years through painful steps they have moved along a road which they have macadamized with their bones and cemented with their blood. The noblest aspirations that can fire the hu-

man heart have actuated these men, resistance to tyranny. This great Republic has reached its arm across the waste of water and helped these people to their feet, given them the opportunity to organize a government and to run the race for freedom according to their capacity.

Instead of that, shall we be the ministers of injustice? Shall we be the deterrent forces to discourage the uprising for freedom elsewhere on the globe? Is the flag no longer to be the beacon that invites the people of an oppressed race everywhere to our shores, or is it to be the "balefire on the rock warning the world that approach is danger and contact is death?"

Are we to be the great exemplars of human liberty, or are we to join the ranks of the monarchs of the world in the lust for territory, the greed for conquest, for aggrandizement, and depart from that simplicity of liberty, of freedom, of the rights of man as set forth in our Declaration of Independence, as guaranteed by our Constitution? The fate of millions of people in the Philippines, of untold millions in America, rests upon the decision of the Senate.

W. E. Mason

CHAPTER XXIV.

UNIVERSAL LIBERTY.

BY HON. WILLIAM E. MASON,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS.

It is easy to drift with the tide, but not always safe. It is pleasant to remain within the harbor when the storm is on without. But sometimes the storm within, the inner conscience, is more dangerous to peace of mind than the storm without may be to human life.

The simple resolution which I have introduced, and which I shall ask a vote upon before the final passage of any material legislation or treaty upon this subject, does not have necessarily anything to do with the treaty. I do not intend to speak upon that subject.

The remarks of the Senator from Louisiana went to the suggestion that we have no constitutional power to acquire territory except under certain conditions, and the remarks of the Senator from Connecticut in answer showed that both gentlemen had been diligent in searching for conflicting authorities, and they have convinced the Senate, I think, that the question still is and always will be unsettled.

The proposition, however, followed by the Senator from Massachusetts, and to which I wish to invite the attention of my distinguished friend from Ohio, is to the effect, first, that we have no right to acquire territory for an unconstitutional purpose; second, that the Constitution must be interpreted in the light of the Declaration of Independence, and, therefore, third, that we have no right under the Constitution to acquire

territory for the purpose of governing a people without their consent.

The resolution which I have offered does not involve a question of law. If I believe at any time in the future I can add to anything suggested by distinguished gentlemen, I shall have the temerity to enter that field of discussion. The resolution I offer involves a question of policy to be pursued by this Republic and requires no learned discussion of constitutional law.

Understand me, I am not apologizing for the resolution nor for my speech. I regret its necessity; but that it is necessary that this treaty-making body of the United States should declare itself, one side or the other, upon the fundamental principles of our Government I could demonstrate to you in a moment's reading of the current literature of the day. Could I show its necessity better than reading one or two extracts from leading journals describing the situation of our troops about the town of Iloilo? One of the great papers of this country says:

> In any case the insurgent flag at Iloilo will have to come down and give place to the Stars and Stripes. The fact that no American troops were present at the surrender of the town has nothing to do with the case. The American forces have taken the whole Philippine group and concluded a treaty of peace with Spain by which the islands have all come under the American flag. * * * But peace and authority must be maintained; and if the Malay rebel factions can not realize this peaceably, they must be taught the fact in a way that they will understand.

In another place:

> To raise any other flag than the Stars and Stripes over any town in the Philippine Islands will henceforth be an act of rebellion against the established power of the United States and will have to be dealt with accordingly.

From this morning's paper I read just one sentence to show that we are entering upon a state of war with the natives of the island, whose only crime is a de-

sire to govern themselves and defend their homes. This is from an editorial in this morning's paper:

> That it may mean a long war to suppress the outlaws——

That is what King George called Washington, you remember—

> and establish American authority over every foot of the Philippines can not deter the Government from the use of force at the earliest practicable moment.

So much for the situation of the hour, a situation which was not unanticipated by any man who could think fifteen minutes ahead of the present moment, a situation which was as inexorable and as sure of coming as the night follows day.

I ask only an indorsement of the Declaration of Independence. Surely American gentlemen will not sneer at my simplicity. Surely American gentlemen have not outgrown this document; and if they have, they will have to pardon me that I have not mentally, morally, and loyally kept pace with them in their wonderful growth.

I appreciate and agree with President Lincoln, who said, "In the long run you can trust the people;" but I want the people to hear both sides of this question before the verdict is rendered.

Distinguished editors, writers and statesmen tell us, almost constantly, that this doctrine of governing those people without their consent is a part of the platform of the Republican party, and they would discipline me because of my opposition.

I may be charged with speaking for rebels. When did they take the oath of allegiance to our flag? Name the hour when they have not claimed the right of independence. I am speaking one word for the Philippine Islands, but I am speaking two words for

my own country. A boy treading upon an ant, his father said, "Don't, my boy; that is cruel." A learned man said, "The ant has no nerve centers and can not suffer." "Ah," said the father, "I am speaking one word for the ant and two words for my boy." A black man thanked a Senator here the other day. He said, "I thank you, Mr. Senator, for what you have said for my race." The Senator said, "I was speaking one word for your race and two for mine." The one thing that has dwarfed the white race more than any other is the stooping of a hundred years of the white man to hold the black man down. If I am to be branded as speaking for rebels, let me say at the outset I am speaking more for my country than for them.

We have learned, and must learn again and again, the simple lesson of the law of compensation. That law is as unfailing as the law of gravitation. There is no vicarious atonement for a nation's crime. I care not what your religious faith may be, no nation has ever committed a crime against a weaker nation or against her own citizens that the law of compensation has not demanded settlement. For a hundred years in this country we piled up the wealth of unrequited toil of the slaves. We said, "This is the land of the free and the home of the brave," and sold women and children to the highest and best bidder for cash. No picture could be painted of the genius of our country in which the slave pen and whipping post did not rear their heads. We tore down the slave pen; the auction block came down with it; but there was not material enough to make headboards for the graves.

You can not govern the Philippine Islands without taxing them. You have not yet their consent to tax them. You propose again to tax without representation. Look out for tea parties. Those semi-social functions are liable to occur, for Yankee Doodle and

the Star Spangled Banner have been heard in the Archipelago.

In the light of the construction given to liberty by one of the distinguished Senators of this body, who has amended the Declaration of Independence in his speech here by inserting the words "some of the people," let me read, in the light of that definition, the definition of liberty as given by Webster. You remember Kossuth, the great liberator and lover of liberty. He came here in 1851, and you remember how he stirred the hearts of the American people here in Washington long before we had heard of this new interpretation that government was for "some of the people." When Kossuth made his speech in Washington, Webster replied. Remember, Senators, I do not claim any monopoly on liberty. I do not claim for a moment that I love it any more than you do; but I beg and I pray you to hear this man's definition of liberty—not liberty for me fixed by you. I read from Kossuth's Speeches, page 159. Webster said:

> There is, gentlemen, the great element of human happiness mixed up with other. We have our social affections; we have our family affections; but then we have this sentiment of our country; which imbues all our hearts and enters into all our other feelings; and this sentiment of country is an affection not only for the soil on which we were born; it not only appertains to our parents and sisters and brothers and friends, but our habits and institutions, and to the government of that country in all respects.
>
> We may talk of it as we please, but there is nothing that satisfies the human mind in an enlightened age unless man is governed by his own country and the institutions of his own government.

Hear this sentence, and remember this if you forget all I shall say to-day:

No matter how easy the yoke, though our dearly beloved friends who are going to govern the Philippines may use a silken cord, a golden chain, Webster says:

> No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power——

And we are a foreign power so far as the Philippines

are concerned; we can not speak their language; we can not read their newspapers—

> No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power—no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulders, if it is not imposed by the voice of his own nation and of his own country, he will not, he can not, and he means not to be happy under its burden.

No matter how easy the yoke, he means not to be happy. But we are told that they can not govern themselves. Where is the student of evolution who talks like this? Where is the man who has read who does not know that all government is made to fit the people and does not rise either above or below the people themselves? Who does not know the difference between "canned liberty," as the Speaker of the House calls it, and the genuine liberty which we enjoy?

No, no; they can not govern themselves. I was told so the other day by one of my beloved constituents, who never governs himself fifteen minutes at a time; but he was willing to take an assignment under the present Administration to govern all the Philippines at a fair salary.

Can not govern themselves! Every man who ever owned a slave always said: "Why, you poor, down-trodden slave, I own you for your own good, just to help you; I eat my bread in the sweat of your face just to keep you safe and sound from the ways of danger; and in order that I may continue to exercise this Christian duty do not let me catch you with a spelling book in your hand."

Can not govern themselves! And we are to say that to-day to the poor, God-forsaken, down-trodden people of the Philippine Islands; and while we whisper the words of consolation into their ears that we are to give them liberty and life, we wink the other eye to the merchants of the country, and say: "We will ex-

tend commerce and sell more calico." My distinguished friend suggested this morning that we ought to rake those islands with our guns and compel their people to wear shirts—not that they need the shirts, but to increase the demand for calico.

We are to go to those people with guns, notwithstanding Dewey said they are competent to govern themselves—he had handled them without guns; he had had no trouble with them.

Did you ever see the Passion Play? Were you reminded when you saw the picture of gentlemen in foreign lands parting and dividing the homes of the Filipinos without consulting them and without notice to the people who live there—were you reminded of the picture in the Passion Play where the garments of the Master were parted by the throw of the dice?

But we are to exercise the right of taxation without representation. We are to govern the ad valorem and the specific duties. Ah, my friends, look out; for once the spirit of imperialism governs the poor and weak 10,000 miles away, look out that that spirit does not touch you nearer home.

When Kossuth wrote the declaration of Hungarian independence he had in mind our own Declaration of Independence. So he said here in Washington. For over one hundred years every lover of liberty has pointed to this sentence within this resolution: "All just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed."

This sentence has been a pillar of fire by night and a cloud by day to the downtrodden and oppressed all over the world. In the light of this sentence crowns have fallen to the dust and men have stood anew in their own manhood. In the light of this sentence Simon Bolivar, the liberator of South America, laid in blood and carnage the foundation stones of the South

American republics. In the light of this sentence Kosciusko led his Spartan band against the hosts of Russian and Austrian oppressors of his native Poland.

This burning sentence attracted the attention of Lafayette, across the water, and his ships set sail for our relief. In the light of this sentence Garibaldi struck down Bourbon tyranny and carved his name not only in the hearts of lovers of liberty in Italy, but all over the world. No, we will not amend that sentence now. We will not insert the word "some" just yet. It has passed beyond the power of this country to amend the Declaration of Independence.

You ask for expansion. See how we have expanded in the time since this sentence was written. Not only have republics started up in place of monarchies, but monarchies have themselves gradually broadened into constitutional governments, getting nearer and nearer to the voice of the people. Our own was the first great republic, and in the better and broader sense our flag floats from the dome of every republic. From Brazil to Nicaragua and Venezuela the brave little republican flag is floating. It may not be striped or starred like our own, but it is born of the spirit of our spirit, and it breathes defiance to the monarchies of the world, because our flag is in our sky and because the Monroe doctrine is written forever in the hearts of the people.

Let me tell you what our good friend Fox said in the English Parliament, that some of you expansionists read when you were boys and have long since forgotten. I quote his exact language, and I quote the volume of Fox's Speeches, at page 61:

> The noble lord who moved the amendment said that we were in the dilemma of conquering or abandoning America. What have been the advantages of America to this Kingdom? Extent of trade, increase of commercial advantages, and a numerous people growing up in the same ideas and sentiments as ourselves. Now, sir, would

those advantages accrue to us if America was conquered? Not one of them.

Let me read just a little further from what Fox said in answer to this proposition, made so far by all the people who are in favor of taking the Philippine Islands, whether the people of those islands want us to do so or not. Fox, following on in the same speech on the same day, in reply to the Crown, said:

Such a possession of America must be secured by a standing army——

Is not that true here?—

and that, let me observe, must be a very considerable army.

Is not that true here? Aguinaldo has 50,000 men and one climate. Mr. Fox, continuing, said:

Consider, sir, that that army must be cut off from the intercourse of social liberty here, and accustomed in every instance to bow down and break the spirits of men, to trample on the rights and live on the spoils cruelly wrung from the sweat and labor of their fellow-subjects. Such an army employed for such purposes, and paid by such means, for supporting such principles, would be a very proper instrument to effect points of a greater, or at least more favorite, importance nearer home; points, perhaps, very unfavorable to the liberties of this country.

Not one expansionist, not one who advocates the taking of these islands against the consent of the people, but what will tell you in the same breath, "Yes, it is going to be a great tax upon the people of the United States, but we will let the Filipinos pay that tax." They are to pay for our standing army. They are to pay the price of their own chains.

The Filipino, or resident of the Philippine Islands, is begging to treat with us. He knocks at our door to be heard. He loves his home as you love yours, and as I love mine. He has breathed the inspiration of our history. He asks only what our fathers fought for—the right to govern himself. There is no treaty of commercial value to the United States which could be

suggested that he is not ready and willing to give us. Then it is not the expansion of commerce you want, but it is the expansion of the gewgaws and the tinsels of royalty.

Let me give notice to you gentlemen who expect to be in politics that if this war goes on, and if we open the guns, as we threaten to do within ten days, upon the women and children in the island of Iloilo, the father in New England will begin to plead for the father in Manila, the mother in Illinois will begin to pray for the mother in the islands of the sea, and the fathers will vote as the mothers pray. God Almighty help the party that seeks to give civilization and Christian liberty hypodermically with 13-inch guns.

Have we got to fight and plead for those people in the Philippine Islands as was done for the Cubans? Are we to hear Aguinaldo called a cutthroat, a robber, as we did the poor Garcia within this very chamber, because he fought for liberty and for his own country?

Oh, but they say Aguinaldo is a self-appointed chief. That is a way of their politics there. Look about the Senate, and who of us is here except originally upon his own invitation?

Why can not we now make those people our friends, as Fox pleaded to make America England's friend a hundred years ago?

We ourselves discredited the sovereign title of Spain. We ourselves have thrown a taint upon their possessions. We ourselves, in the face of the world, have thrown a taint upon all sovereignty claimed by Spain that was held by force. Yes, the insurgents held more than the Spaniards held within their grasp, but the Spaniards were better traders. They knew how to buy and sell sovereignty better than the Filipinos, who, thank God, have not learned it, and we ought never to begin to teach them.

I am for the independence of the people of the Philippine Islands, as I am for independence of the people of Cuba. I am bound by a solemn promise made in this chamber. Senators may higgle and say it is not nominated in the bond; but it is an implied promise more sacred to an honorable gentleman than though it were written in blood.

Anything else will be the breaking of a national promise and a personal disgrace to 70,000,000 people. Then we can say to the world, "See, there is Bedloe's Island; the Goddess of Liberty has not changed the liberty cap for a crown; the goddess has turned on her pedestal and with her mighty searchlight sweeps the continent to Cuba; aye, and across the water 10,000 miles away the seed sown at Concord has taken root; there is a new flag in the sky—not the flag of the Western giant, with 70,000,000 people back of it, seeking to extend territory and accomplish sovereignty, but the brave little republican flag which flaunts its saucy colors in the very portals of the Orient.

But to abandon them as Fox proposed to abandon America means self-government. It is time enough for us to say they can not govern themselves when we have given them a trial.

Oh, the glory of responsibility! You have seen common jackknife lawyers make good judges because they were elected to the bench. They found responsibility, and it made them men. Soldiers fight better in uniform, for they fear to disgrace themselves by retreat. They disgrace the country whose colors they wear. Citizens grow in responsibility when panoplied with citizenship, and the reverse is true when they are denied that sacred offering. To abandon the Philippines means what? It means what Fox meant for the United States—the right to govern themselves.

That we have assisted the Filipinos is undoubtedly true. That they assisted us is also true. We are told that Aguinaldo could not have got back there but for Dewey. Then Dewey put him back. Then under all the laws of common honesty he is an ally. Under all the laws of nations he is our ally. Cæsar, with all his cruelty, aye, Nero, never accepted the assistance of an ally and whipped his enemy and then turned his guns upon the men who helped him.

I say respectfully that there is no more right or necessity of our governing the Philippine Islands than there is of governing Venezuela, Brazil, Nicaragua, or any other South American state without the consent of its people. Certainly we have no more right to govern them than we have to govern Cuba. Our Government is committed to the withdrawal of our troops from Cuba as soon as peace is restored and a government established.

Tell me why we should adopt one plan for Cuba and another for the Philippines. Do you say, with the explosionists—I mean the expansionists, "We promised we would not steal Cuba, but we did not promise not to steal the Philippines?" Do you say, with Shylock, "Is it so nominated in the bond?" You remember Jacques in the Two Orphans was charged with stealing a coat. He said, "You lie; it was a cloak." Will you tell me, please, how grand larceny and criminal aggression in Cuba become high Christian civilization in the Philippines? Is there some place in the Pacific Ocean where we change the code of ethics and good morals as we change the calendar and the ship's clock in crossing?

We can not teach them to govern themselves. There is only one road to self-government. That is through the gate of responsibility, along the rough and rugged road of experience. You can not teach liberty and

self-government with a Mauser gun. Spain has tried it for centuries; at least, with guns similar if not of the same pattern. For centuries she has been for expansion, more land, more property, more poor people she could ride over with some cheap politician with a crown on his head. Are we going to keep the crown room there that Spain occupied? Is the throne room to be kept intact for Tammany Hall or the Republican party when we send our envoys there?

Spain is an expansionist and has been for centuries. And say, my friends, have you forgotten the first rule proved by all history, without exception, that every square inch of territory taken by force has to be held by force? Go to your children who are in the first year of the high school and they will tell you the rule, that in all history every square foot of ground taken by force from an alien nation has to be kept by force. There is Alsace-Lorraine, between Germany and France. A standing army is kept there on both sides, and there is a continuing threat of war. Are we to continue to imitate Spain? She has believed in the expansion of territory, expansion of commerce by force, without the consent of the governed, and her ships are lying at the bottom of the sea. Her men are rotting in the ocean and upon the land all over the world. Her flag has been dishonored, disgraced, defeated, and sent back to her peninsula, and the golden crown of imperialism that she has sought against the will of the people has turned to ashes in her palsied hands.

But distinguished gentlemen who claim a monopoly of patriotism, who do not seem to observe the difference between expansion and explosion, say that we who believe in getting the consent of the governed before we govern them want to give back the Philippines to Spain. Everyone who makes the statement knows

that is not what we want. May I repeat the old story of Lincoln? Driving in his carriage one day, he alighted to turn a tumblebug to his legs. Replying to the Cabinet minister within the carriage, he said: "I merely wanted to give him a show with all the other bugs of his class." He set him along the highroad, along the line of the survival of the fittest.

Do you remember when Mexico was invaded by the French and Uncle Sam said, "Go; there is the Monroe doctrine; Mexico is covered by the shadow of its wing," and the French soldiers left, and the brave little Republic of Mexico is slowly but surely climbing the ladder to a better education, a better civilization. That is the expansion I believe in. That is the imperialism the fathers taught.

Venezuela, within three years, was assaulted by England—sought to be despoiled of her port of entry. Grover Cleveland was President of the United States, and he said to the greatest naval power of the world, "Stop!" You know the result. Venezuela, struggling along, improving in civil and religious liberty, is climbing higher and higher the scale of civilization. We did not want to annex her when we spoke for her. We did not seek to tax and govern her, but we set her on the high road of imperialism within herself, and that is the imperialism the fathers taught, and that is the expansion I plead for.

I wonder if my colleagues have forgotten the scenes of twelve months ago within this chamber, when the distinguished Senator who now occupies the chair had the floor and was for liberty and Cuba? Do you remember when some of our distinguished colleagues read to us the charge by the Germans that we were seeking territory, that Uncle Sam was a sly dog, and that we were playing the part of the good Samaritan and had a compass under our wings to measure terri-

tory? Was there not a distinguished Senator—from New Hampshire, I think—who answered the slander by quoting the Battle Hymn of the Republic?

> In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
> With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;
> As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free.

Shall we change the last line and say:

> Let us die to make men slaves?

Have you forgotten how we called upon the people to look this way, and we said, "Hear, O ye hills; turn, all ye people of the world; turn ye, O eyes, and see America. She worshipeth at the shrine of Him who was born in the manger. We unlimber our guns for humanity's sake. We clear our decks for the liberty of others." Are we, by turning our guns upon the natives, to say by our conduct, "Look not this way; turn in shame upon us; the money changers are in the temple of liberty; the jingle of gold and silver is heard within her walls; and we are now about to barter and dicker, to buy and sell the right to govern men and women and children without their consent."

But we are told, and we were told only yesterday by the Senator from Connecticut, if you will read his closing speech in which he replied to the Senator from Massachusetts, to whom I now take occasion to pay my tribute of honor and respect, such as I bear toward few men in this life—"we are going to give them liberty, but we want them to have our kind of liberty. You must be happy, my dear Filipino, but happy in the way I tell you to be happy."

I am going to read you the exact words of King George. You liberty-loving expansionists, who are going to give them civilization with guns, who are going to extend commerce at the cost of the lives of the boys of this country, when you say you are going to give them liberty forget the difference between your liberty and theirs. Let me read you the exact words

of King George, so that you may be sure to be on his side when next you speak for liberty for the Philippines.

Here is the language of his kingship George III. I am going to read you his exact words. He was "desirous of restoring to them the blessings of law and liberty." Oh, why was not Pecksniff born at that time to wear a crown? King George said exactly as you expansionists talk to-day, exactly as the Senator from Connecticut said—he was going to give them the liberty of his kind; Connecticut liberty for the Philippine Islands, the canned liberty that Mr. Speaker Reed speaks of; the misfit liberty that has never "gone" among the nations of the world.

Let me read you what King George said. This is the father they speak of, I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts, when they refer him to the fathers. They did refer to the father—George III. Let me read you his exact words, and when next you strut before your constituents and say, "We are the superior race; we are the Anglo-Saxons; we have larger cloaks and can say longer prayers; we stand higher than upon the house tops; we thank God we are not as other men," they can say, with King George, "We are going to give those poor devils the kind of liberty we want them to take, and if they do not take our liberty we will shoot them to death." I am going to read you King George's liberty. You can insert it in three lines of a speech made by the distinguished Senator, and you could not tell whether it was the Senator or King George who made it:

> I am desirous of restoring to them the blessings of law and liberty equally enjoyed by every British subject——

You want to strike out the word "British" and insert "American" in the gentleman's speech; that is all—

MOUTH OF THE PASIG RIVER, MANILA, WALLED CITY ON THE RIGHT.

which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for the calamities of war and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

"Chiefs," he said. The King said "chiefs." The Senator said "chiefs," I think. The King referred to Washington; the Senator to Aguinaldo. Was there not an answer on the same day from the lover of liberty, Fox—not because he loved us, but because he loved liberty? In answer to the King he said on the same day, rising in his place:

But, sir, how is this blessed system of liberty to be established? By the bayonets of disciplined Hessians?

I lack originality. May I use the same language? How is the liberty to be established? You have answered by your proclamation. You say, peacefully if you can, but powder if you must. I say the boys in blue or gray, or whatever color they fight in, enlisted to make men free. They enlisted to fight the tyrant Spain. They did not enlist to make men slaves. They did not enlist to fight the Filipinos, and the fairest thing you can do for the American youth before you set him to shooting the women and children of the island is to give him a chance to come home.

They are not Hessians. They are not hired as butchers. They heard the lofty talk of patriotism. We were all willing to die to make men free. You have no right, after having accomplished the liberty of Cuba, to send your officers 10,000 miles away to subjugate, to kill, and to destroy the innocent natives, whose only offense is the love of wife, the love of children, and the love of home.

I ask now for some one who shall follow me to answer, did Aguinaldo go back there under the protection of our flag? If so, is he not an ally? If he is an ally, have we a right to settle terms of war and peace without consulting him and his people? Ah, but it

was officially reported that our colonel in command said to them, "Give up Iloilo," and they said, "No;" and it is officially reported that our commander said, "Before we burn your town we will give you twenty-four hours to take your women and children out under the stars." I say it is reported officially that this gentleman in charge—I have forgotten the name of the colonel in charge—said that before he bombarded the town—it has not been denied; it has been reported frequently—he would give them twenty-four hours.

We have never put our foot upon that island. We were not even there when the people drove the Spaniards out. The flag has never been upon the island, either by conquest or in any other way. The people are governing themselves, and we are told that we are to give them twenty-four hours—that is not so long as Weyler gave them, in some instances—for men, women and children to move out of their homes—homes as sacred as mine is to me or yours is to you. That is to be our action against people who have never offended us; against people who have been our allies in this struggle. At the point of a gun we are to conquer our allies, having defeated the main opponent of the fight. Shade of the immortal Washington, defend us! Tears of the martyred Lincoln, plead for this country at the throne of eternal justice!

And I say that for a nation of 70,000,000 people to stand upon the shore of a little struggling community and threaten them is an example of cowardice almost unparalleled in the history of the world.

But we are told by certain distinguished gentlemen who are interested in commerce, and who talk one story in the counting-room and another one in the church, that we must civilize these people. "Thank God, we are not as other men. We must bring them up to our standard in civilization." I suppose that

means clothes, religion, churches, schools, and the use of all the peculiar kinds of drinks that we indulge in. Food, raiment, and the color of the necktie must be involved.

How are we going to civilize them? Shall we show them how to run municipalities with boodle aldermen? Shall we teach them to worship money and the man who has it, regardless of how he got it? Shall we send special instructors to teach them how to kill postmasters, their wives and children, if their complexion does not suit the populace? Shall we have illustrated pictures showing the works of the mob in Illinois, North Carolina and South Carolina?

Since the signing of the protocol we have murdered more men in Illinois by the mob than they have in the Philippine islands. Shall we take that branch of our civilization and force it upon them with a 13-inch gun ? Shall we teach them, as they do in North and South Carolina, how the mobs can run the towns and kill the people?

Shall we teach them how to organize trusts so that when one gentleman is out on his yacht and is troubled with liver complaint or a trifle seasick he can float into Manila Bay and raise the price of sugar on 70,000,000 people?

Shall we teach them how to organize their legislature as we have this body, so that the minority can boss and not the majority? Shall we teach them the speech of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, that all just powers of government are derived from the consent of "some" of the governed? Shall we send them Lincoln's Gettysburg speech amended in that way—a government of some of the people, by a part of the people, for a few of the people?

Some may say I belittle my own institutions. I do not. I should like to call attention to a few of

the beams in the eye of the Americano that he may not stretch and break his neck reaching 10,000 miles away to find the mote in the eye of the Filipino.

I am not afraid of the result so far as my country is concerned. The distinguished Senator who sounded a keynote the like of which has not been heard in half a century in this hall may have just grounds for apprehension, but I come from a younger community. We have stood many things, as our country has. We went through the Know-Nothing craze, the Greenback fever, the free-silver tempest, and we have come up out of it all brave and strong. Why?

Because our Government has builded right. The just powers of the Government have been derived from the consent of the people. It is builded on a rock that can not wash away. It has within itself the well-spring of eternal youth.

And why, in the name of all that is generous, should we refuse the Filipino the privilege of lighting his feeble taper at the light and heat of our flaming torch?

Why is it that to-day in the happy land of Cuba they are preparing to celebrate their Fourth of July? Have you not read of the processions, the whites and the blacks, the men and the women and the children, the starving reconcentrados, marching and shouting, singing their La Marseillaise, singing their Wacht am Rhein, singing their Star Spangled Banner? Why? Because we promised them independence, and by implication we promised the same thing to the Philippine Islands.

Why is it not so to-day in the Philippine Islands? Why are they gathering their men and their guns around them? Are they not saying to us, "This war

means something more than a change of masters?" When some gentleman who loves liberty takes this floor I beg him to tell me the reason for treating them differently from what we propose to treat the people in the island of Cuba.

What is the reason? Are human homes less sacred in the Philippines? Are human hopes and human aspirations any less sacred there? Does the father love his family less? Does not the mother sing her lullaby as well there? Is there some secret reason whereby we intend to take the sovereignty of the people and gather from them the tribute we should have gathered from the shekels of Spain?

Tell me, I say, when you have the floor, you who are going to follow peacefully and pleasantly if you can, but with gun and powder if you must, you who stand upon the platform to take the Philippine Islands regardless of the wish of the people, where in your declaration of principle have you the right to treat them differently from the people of Cuba.

Oh, but gentlemen say there is something in it. There is the sale of rum and tobacco and calico. If you want the land, there is Canada; that is nearer. Take Canada. They talk our language. But when I say that to my expansionist friend, he says, "That is different." Oh, yes; it is different, and I will tell you the difference. It is the difference between the fleet of a Victoria and the fleet of Aguinaldo. That is all the difference. There is no difference in principle, for if you have a right to take the Philippines and govern them and tax them without their consent, you have the right to take Canada.

Why not take something nearer home if it is a mere matter of advantage? Why not put the skull and crossbones of piracy upon the flag at once and take out of the Declaration of Independence that all just pow-

ers of the government are derived from the consent of the governed?

We have had a very serious war, glorious in its inception, for liberty. We have set the high-water mark in patriotism. When Patrick Henry said, "Give me liberty or give me death," the world said, "That is the high-water mark of liberty." But here, at the close of the century, we have lifted the mark. When the President called for 100,000 men, 625,000 between sun and sun answered the call and said not "Give me liberty or give me death," but "Give liberty to the continent or give me death; I will put my life in the balance to clean the continent where my flag floats."

I have seen men dying in hospitals without a murmur. They said to me, "I am going to die; it is all right, old man." I have stood by the open graves. I have seen the mother's tears dry and her face light up with hope—aye, with pride—when it was said to her that he died in a noble cause; that he died like the Master, for others. I have seen the tears dry and the face light with pride because her son was there, having died in the cause as sacred as the Nazarene's.

But when your ships come home laden from Manila with the putrid remains of our boys, and you take the coffin to the mother's door, you never will dry her tears, you never will soothe her heart, by telling her that you have extended your commerce at the cost of her dead boy.

Who wants to govern the Philippines, let me ask in conclusion? Where is the ambitious Senator who wants to make laws at this desk to govern people 10,000 miles away? Who is the kind-hearted statesman? You can not speak their language. You do not know their schools. You can not read their newspapers. You do not know their religion. Why, I never even saw one of their newspapers. I am told there is a

bogy man here who represents Aguinaldo, but I have never even seen him. I have an idea that their homes are sacred to them and that their government, like the fountain head, is what the people will make it; that it can never be better until they make it better, and that government can not be learned by inheritance any more than you can inherit a trade.

I have an idea that their homes are sacred, that their children are beloved, that they love their soil, and that they have their songs; that the father has his prayer, that they have a hearthstone of some kind, and that the mother has a lullaby for her babe. Who wants to govern them here? In the name of God, who wants to do it? Who craves the power to make laws for men 10,000 miles away whom you never saw? Who seeks to go there as the governor? If Democracy succeeds, tell me the name of the man in this chamber who wants to go, covered with the tinsels, the gew-gaws and flubdubs of sovereignty that comes from royalty, and have the natives receive you and keep the flies off your sacred person while you listen to the interpreter. What man ever breathed American air in Illinois or Wisconsin who would stoop to this?

Ah, the fever has run high, the temperature has been almost beyond our power to withstand. The war made heroes of all of us—some of us in our minds, some of us on the field. In the contemplation of the heroic work of Dewey and the Army and Navy we have grown so heroic that we know not where to stop; and in love of power we have forgotten the high purpose and the lofty plan upon which the declaration of war was founded.

If in my effort to-day I can get one American to think a little more of the rights of man, if I can add one comfort or one hope to the poorest, blackest, meanest and lowest of God's creatures in the Philip-

pine Islands, I shall be satisfied and more than paid for my effort.

I am done. I have not well done. I have been advised by those whom I think most of as friends to await events. But the events that I saw coming in early August are here. I could wait no longer. Some have been kind enough to say that my seat was in danger.

Why, I have seen the boys come home sick, and I have seen their graves; and I have seen so much of sacrifice in this cause that, as much as I love the association and the seat among you, I would give it as cheerfully as I would a crust, if my people want it, regretting only that I have so little to give in this cause.

I had hoped for some power of language that the old masters were said to have who stood within this forum in the past. I have almost prayed for some magnetic power that I could turn the tide for the liberty of those people, for some magnetic power that I could draw you so close that I could write in living letters upon your hearts the word "Liberty." Not liberty for your family as I prescribe it, not liberty for me or my children by your dictation, not Austrian liberty for Hungary, not Spanish liberty for Cuba, not English liberty for the United States and not American liberty for the Philippines, but universal liberty—universal liberty for which our fathers died.

H. Chillon

CHAPTER XXV.

ANNEXATION DANGEROUS TO LABOR.

BY HON. HORACE CHILTON,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM TEXAS.

The pending treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, which has been made public by order of the Senate, contains three main articles. By Article I Spain relinquishes all claim of title to Cuba. By Article II Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and other islands under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies and the Island of Guam in the Ladrones. By Article III Spain makes like absolute cession of the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands and the United States agree to pay Spain $20,000,000.

There are other dependent articles, the most important of which is, probably, Article VII, by which the two Governments relinquish all claim for indemnity on the part of either Government or its citizens against the other Government arising out of the troubles in Cuba, and in which the United States agree to settle such claims on the part of our citizens against Spain. This may develop into an obligation of many millions against our Government. The amount has not been ascertained nor even estimated with any approximate accuracy.

The first two articles of the treaty present no difficulties. We are satisfied with a relinquishment of Cuba to its own people. Few Senators object to taking a cession of Porto Rico, which lies in the Western

Hemisphere. The Island of Guam, in the Ladrones, is not more than two or three times as large as the District of Columbia, and contains a population of only four or five thousand. It is a convenient size for a coaling and naval station, and we would have no perplexities of government for future settlement.

The article relating to the Philippines is the one upon which our differences of opinion turn.

I am not an anti-expansionist. I believe that it is the duty and the interest of this country to widen its boundaries as time goes on. But I would not do this indiscriminately. In case of doubt, I would adhere closely to the policy of the forefathers. In my judgment the taking of the Philippines will bring peril both to the interests and the institutions of the American people. It is not an acquisition which will add to the comfort and glory of the Republic, like that of Louisiana, or Florida, or Texas, or New Mexico and California.

It seems to me a matter of astonishment that such a radical far-reaching responsibility should be courted upon the scantiness of the information which we possess in regard to the subject-matter of our acquisition.

Perhaps no Senator upon this floor ever set foot upon the Philippine Islands, and few will claim that they possess that grasp upon the case which they would feel necessary in an important private transaction.

We know in a general way that there are from 1,200 to 1,800 islands in the Philippine group, that four or five hundred of them are inhabited, and that a great many of them are so barren that they contain not a single soul. We know that there are from 7,000,000 to 12,000,000 people upon them. My own opinion is that there are nearer 7,000,000 than 12,000,000, be-

cause we know how customary it is to exaggerate the population of the Eastern nations.

There is no homogeneity among those people. Some profess one religion, some another. Some have never been under the actual sovereignty of Spain. They represent all grades of society from rank savages to the semi-civilized children of Spanish and Chinese fathers and native Malay mothers. A mere handful of Germans, English, and Spaniards are there, but they are so few that they need not be taken into account.

Now, the first thing which would have to be done after the United States went into the Philippines would be to bring the islands under settled rule. We would have to do what Spain, after three hundred years of trial, with all the instrumentalities of tyranny at her command, has been unable to do. We would need a great and growing army.

If we will confine our operations to Porto Rico and Cuba, no additions to our present Regular Army will be necessary. We need but few soldiers inside the present borders of the United States, and our existing military force can be spared largely for Porto Rico and Cuba. Porto Rico is small in area and at peace. That island can be policed by two or three companies of good soldiers. Nor is there great danger in Cuba.

The fact of the proximity of the United States to the West Indies, that our great power hangs over the islands like a mountain side, the hopelessness of making headway against this Government in a rebellion or insurrection, will deter those in Porto Rico and Cuba who might otherwise be factors in disturbance from doing anything in opposition to our just rule.

But, sir, when we go to the Philippine Islands a different problem is thrust upon us. We will need a standing army of European proportions, and with that standing army will come all the vast consequences of present and future expense, which the American people should never forget. We will have retired lists for Army and Navy officers expanding faster than we expand our dominion; we will have pensions piled on pensions to the latest generation; we will have our minds constantly fixed upon visions of war and conquest rather than peace and industrial advancement, and for years the Pacific cables will bring bloody news to the homes of America.

But, sir, after we go there, after we have subjected those islands under great stress and great expense to the Government of our country, what a complexity of social and political problems is brought to our doors. Take, for example, the labor problem.

There are two distinct dangers which it is hardly possible to avert. Those dangers are, first, the competition of the pauper laborers of the Philippine Islands who may come to our shores. The second is the danger of the competition of the pauper-made products sent out from the Philippine Islands to flood and disparage American markets.

It is hardly material to the consideration of this question whether the Philippine Islanders become citizens or not when they are admitted into the bounds of our Republic. All persons who are within the jurisdiction of this country have the free right of locomotion from one part of our dominion to another. Would it be within the power of Congress to say that an alien peacefully resident here should not go from one of our Territories to another?

We can keep aliens from coming here. That has been decided. That is a power of our sovereignty. We can expel aliens after they come here. That is a function of our sovereignty. But we have no power to interfere with the personal liberty of an alien as long as he remains under the protection of our Republic.

I will not speak at length of the question whether the sons and daughters of the Filipinos would become citizens of this country. The Supreme Court of the United States, in a case as late as the one hundred and sixty-ninth volume, had occasion to decide that the son of an alien Chinaman who was born in this country could not be excluded from our borders.

Blackstone lays down that great principle of Anglo-Saxon progress that one of the first attributes of personal liberty is the right of locomotion from one part of the domain to another. And upon original principles, as well as American authority, it is fairly deducible that whenever we take the Philippine Islanders under our jurisdiction the Supreme Court will hold that it is beyond the power of Congress to prevent them from passing between different parts of the territory of the United States. That has been the common construction of our Constitution for the last one hundred years.

But suppose the danger could be safeguarded by legislation. Where under our Constitution do you find the authority to keep the productions of the Filipinos, manufactured in their own homes, from coming unimpeded to the ports of the United States? In Loughborough vs. Blake (5 Wheat., 317), Chief Justice Marshall, speaking for the court, said:

"The eighth section of the first article [of the Constitution] gives to Congress the 'power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises,' for the purposes thereinafter mentioned. This grant is gen-

eral, without limitation as to place. It consequently extends to all places over which the Government extends."

That is pretty strong.

"The power, then, to lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises, may be exercised, and must be exercised throughout the United States. Does this term designate the whole, or any particular portion of the American empire?"

Chief Justice Marshall seems to have been something of an imperialist himself, and he uses that word so that it might not be said that he only meant to include the States of the Union or the organized Territories.

"Does this term designate the whole, or any particular portion of the American empire?"

He then goes on to answer the question:

"It [the United States] is the name given to our great Republic, which is composed of States and Territories. The District of Columbia, or the territory west of the Missouri, is not less within the United States than Maryland or Pennsylvania."

You will remember the idea was advanced here a few days ago that there was some other power in Congress over unorganized territory than that which we had over organized Territories; but when this decision was rendered the greater part of the territory west of the Missouri River, to which Chief Justice Marshall referred, was unorganized territory. This language applies to all the territory, as he says, which belongs to the United States.

"The District of Columbia or the territory west of the Missouri is not less within the United States than Maryland or Pennsylvania; and it is not less necessary, on the principles of our Constitution, that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties, and excises should be observed in the one than in the other. Since, then, the power to lay and collect taxes, which includes direct taxes, is obviously coextensive with the power to lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises, and since the latter extends throughout the United States, it follows that the power to impose direct taxes also extends throughout the United States."

The same principle is practically outlined in the case of Cross vs. Harrison, 16 Howard. From a consideration of these opinions and the nature of our

Government and institutions, it would seem clear that whenever any territory is brought within this American "empire," so called, it becomes subject to the same constitutional principles which overrule Congress in regard to that which we now possess.

I can not believe that it is within the power of Congress to say that there shall be a rate of duty on foreign goods brought into the Philippine Islands differing from the duty on same goods when brought into Texas, Maine, or California, nor can national legislation fix a tariff on importations which pass from the Philippine Islands to other parts of this country higher than the tax on importations which pass from the Territory of Arizona or the District of Columbia into any existing State or Territory.

The laboring people of this country have caught the alarm. They understand the nature of this grave and radical departure.

Is it within the power of the Congress of the United States to-day to say that goods which come from Arizona to the District of Columbia shall pay a certain rate of duty or a certain rate of tax—I do not care what you call it—and that goods which come from Texas to the District of Columbia shall pay another rate? Certainly not.

I will quote part of section 8, Article I, of the Constitution:

*** * * but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.**

Now, if a tax was laid on goods brought from Manila to San Francisco or New York, even if not a duty or impost, it would fall within the definition of the word "excise," and would be invalid if higher than like excises on goods from other ports of our country to New York or San Francisco.

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But I was about to show the views of our labor organizations in regard to this question. I received lately a protest from one of these bodies, which I will read in part:

"The undersigned delegates desire to present briefly the reasons why the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, an organization composed of 31,500 members, located in 357 cities and towns, is opposed to the annexation of the Philippine Islands by the United States.

"I. Because the bulk of the cigars manufactured in the Philippine Islands are sold at a price of $5 to $10 per thousand in United States currency. This statement is verified by Edward W. Harden, special commissioner, in his report on the financial and industrial conditions of said country (page 23).

"II. Because the exportation of cigars in 1896 from Manila amounted to 194,136,000, which, within a few years, under American energy and direction, would increase to the extent of endangering our home industry.

"III. Because the cheap labor of the islands, subsisting mostly on rice and vegetables, would enable a few manufacturers to flood the United States with this product, thus tending to paralyze our home market.

"IV. Because the development of the industry in the archipelago would throw thousands of Americans employed at making cigars out of work and reduce the standard of wages to the Asiatic level, which averages from 15 cents to 25 cents per day.

"V. Because all barriers that now limit competition between these producing forces would be swept aside, and new conditions created most disastrous to the moral, social, and material welfare of the American working people.

"VI. Because the annexation of the Philippine Islands will not change the Asiatic habits and customs of the laboring population, but will, in course of time, reduce the American standard of living to a level bordering on pauperism.

"VII. Because the welfare of 150,000 employees and small manufacturers and their families, depending upon this industry for a living in the United States, is of vastly more importance to the nation than the increase of commerce expected by a few commercial centers.

"VIII. Because it would nullify, in substance, the Chinese exclusion act, the alien contract labor law, and immigration laws, for which organized labor has contended for the last twenty-five years."

So long as the Philippine people are held in allegiance to the Government of the United States you can not deny them the privileges which pertain to other prsons who owe allegiance to our Government. Congress has no power to make discriminations between the people who owe a common obligation to a common Federal sovereignty. This Government was founded upon the proposition that all who served the Republic should have equality of right.

And why are we asked to take up these dangers? Why are we asked to run the risk of admitting 500,000 Chinese and crossbreeds of Chinese and Mestizos into

this Republic, to say nothing of the vast Malay millions which stand behind them? In the Philippine Islands to-day are more than 500,000 Chinese and descendants of Chinese. They mainly inhabit the city of Manila and other towns.

Those people are laborers, merchants, and traders, and when we open the doors by the annexation of these islands we will bring into competition with our home people more alien pauper laborers than would come here in a hundred years under the ordinary operation of our immigration laws. And for what? For islands which, in my judgment, have been vastly exaggerated in fertility and value.

The commerce of the Philippines would no doubt improve under the touch of American energy, but at best it would make but a small figure in our national resources. The imports and exports of the United States are now more in a day than the imports and exports of the Philippines are in a year.

Men may deceive themselves by daydreams about securing a great trade in China and Japan from the standpoint of the Philippines. But I have seen town-lot booms before. I have seen sober men intoxicate themselves with visions of railroads whose charters alone tell the story of their existence and of great cities which the census taker never found.

A widening commerce with those far-off lands should ever be an object of our care. The gallant Perry, in old Democratic days, was the first man to unlock the doors of Japan to American trade.

But to propel that commerce it is not necessary to assume the responsibility of governmental administration.

I would not have this Government surrender all the advantages which come from our glorious Eastern

victory. I would ask one or more coaling and naval stations in the Philippines, so that hereafter, if we had unwilling trouble upon the sea, we might have a base of operations in that quarter of the world.

But I would rather have a treaty which gave free entry to American productions—yes, ten thousand times rather have it—than a profitless and never quiet sovereignty of the ignorant and mixed millions of the Philippines.

I have spoken of the internal difficulties which will present themselves. In my judgment, they form but the smallest part of the gravity of this situation. Whenever we go over into the Philippine Islands great external problems will loom up. What becomes of our Monroe doctrine? What is that Monroe doctrine? It is a beautiful principle, which blends the interests of all the people of the American republics to the south of us with the interests of this great nation.

In the interest of peace the United States will not undertake to dislodge European colonies already established, but their boundaries are fixed. Ne plus ultra is written for them, and neither by war, purchase, voluntary cession, vote of the people, nor in any other way shall a single foot of new territory upon this hemisphere be added to European dominion.

In some respects this is a hard doctrine, but it is a doctrine of virtue and necessity. To say to all the great powers of Europe that while you may talk about taking in new territory, you can not do this anywhere in North, South, or Central America is something to touch the pride of kings and emperors across the water. Suppose Germany should have some kind of a conflict with Brazil, and her war ships should lay siege to and capture Rio Janeiro, as Manila was cap-

tured by us, and Brazil, brought to her knees, was forced to treat for peace.

Suppose that the Brazilian Government, in order to make this peace, were to propose to cede Rio Janeiro to Germany as a part of the settlement. Could she do it? No. At that moment the great, strong voice of the American Republic would speak to the German Government, "Stay thy hand, for we are sworn that no government of the Old World shall ever hereafter acquire another foot of soil upon the domain of the new.

But the Monroe doctrine goes further. If the Venezuelan Government to-morrow should propose to sell out one-half of its territory to Germany or to Russia or to France, the Republic of the United States would intervene.

It would be hard to find a citizen of the Union who would give up that Monroe doctrine.

We will say to the powers of the Old World, "We will not allow you to acquire further possession in the Western Hemisphere." Yet we will take Porto Rico, and we reserve the right to take Haiti or Brazil or Cuba or any other part of North or South America when we think proper to do so.

But after saying this, after reserving that liberty, will we go across into Asia and enter into the wolfish rivalry for land over there, and will we take and keep all that we feel disposed to take and keep? I say that all the moral power that there has ever been in the Monroe doctrine will leave it whenever we are brought to that extremity.

There is a corollary from the Monroe doctrine which is stated by President Monroe himself and all the other great statesmen of America who expounded that doctrine. That deduction is that, while we will

not allow the governments of the Old World to add any further territory to their present colonies on this side of the water, neither will we take a hand in the affairs of the Old World, and when we abandon that position and go over into the Eastern Hemisphere we will discredit the Monroe doctrine during all time. The principle will have been extracted from it, its truth, beauty, and loftiness will have been lost, and it will become simply a doctrine of brute force on the part of the United States.

Again, when we go over into the Philippines we have thrown ourselves upon the red-hot stove of international politics in the Eastern Hemisphere. When we go over there we find, in the first place, that governments over there do not settle matters, each for itself. You find over there what is known as the concert of Europe. A short time ago Greece had a war with Turkey. Turkey overran Greece; and had it in her power to force terms upon the Grecian monarchy.

But the powers of Europe intervened. Russia, Germany, England, France, Austria, and Italy, forming the concert of Europe, intervened, and they said, "We are going to have something to say about how this treaty of peace shall be made." They demanded that the treaty of peace be settled according to certain principles; "the balance of power must be conserved;" and so Turkey, after she had won a conclusive victory over Greece, was obliged to submit to a treaty which was dictated by the six great powers of Europe.

So after the war between Russia and Turkey a few years ago, Russia was victorious and began to outline the terms of peace, but a dark figure loomed up—the concert of Europe—England, Germany, France, Austria, and Italy. A congress was called at Berlin,

a famous congress in the diplomatic history of the world. Beaconsfield and Bismarck and other great statesmen representing the countries of Europe were there, and though Russia had overpowered Turkey in actual battle, the treaty of peace was made upon compromise terms acceptable to the other great powers.

When we go to the Philippine Islands, we take our place on the Sea of China. France is there, England is there, Russia is there, Germany is there. We become close neighbors to all of the great powers of Europe, and with each neighbor striving to gain advantage in territorial acquisition. Trouble will be certain to ensue, and it will not be long in coming. In my judgment twenty years will not elapse until we will be driven into hostile conflict with one or all the great European nations.

What will be the main theater of the war? Where will the fighting take place? Inevitably in Chinese waters or upon Chinese territory.

Whenever we take the Philippine Islands within our jurisdiction, every man and every dollar of the American people will be consecrated to their defense. We will not let other countries take them from us, and we will have to defend them with all the power at our command. We will have to send our men and our munitions over there to carry on the war.

Now, I have great faith in the energy, in the ability, and in the strength of the American people. I know our resources are tremendous. But we must never lose sight of the important fact that one of the reasons why the other nations of the earth have heretofore been unwilling and unable to measure arms with the United States is because of the fact that we have stood here in a great continental area and serenity, and the

countries of the Old World could not find a place to strike us. They dared not seek to invade us, and hence they shrank from encountering the dangers of a war with this Republic.

But whenever we take the Philippine Islands we have furnished to the world a place to strike us. It will be our one weak point. If we enter into an alliance with England, as is proposed here by some, we will have to take part in the division of China or take side against the partition of China. In either case we will have to go across the sea and fight our future battles with the powers of the Old World at a place which they and not we will select.

In such a contest we will be at great disadvantage. A Russian Government railroad will soon be finished from St. Petersburg to the Pacific Ocean and Sea of China. It will be within the power of the Russian Empire to send train load after train load of soldiers from St. Petersburg—its capital—to its remotest limits, and debark them close to the Philippines or upon the soil of China. We can not transport our soldiers by railroad. We will have to load ships at San Francisco or at some other American port, and send our soldiers across the Pacific Ocean, make a landing, and then measure arms with the continental powers of the Eastern Hemisphere. The difference of facilities would be against us in proportions so tremendous that I shrink from such an undertaking.

We should take some observations from experience. I remember in reading history one very remarkable instance of the utter folly of enabling your adversary to select the theater of war. After Napoleon Bonaparte undertook to invade Russia and left his army bleeding upon her plains of snow, no power in Europe dared to undertake another Russian invasion. For

a half century Russia was deemed impregnable. But in an evil hour she set up certain rights upon the Black Sea. Then England and France saw their opportunity.

When Russia set up these rights upon the Black Sea, as a matter of course she had to enforce them. England and France found it in their power to select the place where the fighting should take place; and when the Crimean war ended Russia was forced to agree to a peace that cost her more prestige than any other event in her history. If we go to the Philippine Islands, transfer the forum of our wars in the future from our own continent to the Eastern Continent, it seems to me there could be nothing more perilous to our prestige than to undertake such a departure.

Who can measure the vast cost of such an experiment? It has been boldly avowed upon this floor that we should go into an alliance with England and fight Russia or Germany or any combination of European powers which should seek to partition the Chinese Empire. What does all that mean? It means war, indescribable, unending war. Why should we cast the American destiny upon a sea which is bound to bring our people into bloody conflict with the powers of the Old World? It is a dreadful responsibility to propose at this hour of our history.

The last civil war has already cost the people of the United States over $10,000,000,000; the wars of Europe during the present century have cost the people of Europe over $100,000,000,000, and the end is not yet. Shall we gather nothing from this experience? Shall we go headlong into a policy which has brought the European masses into a state almost equivalent to despair?

So dreadful has this burden grown that not long

ago the Czar of Russia proposed that there should be a general disarmament. They are going to have a conference. We all know that no disarmament will take place. The powers of Europe must keep up great standing armies to watch each other. Why watch each other? Because they are in close neighborhood. What brought on the war between the United States and Spain? It was because of the neighborhood of Cuba to this country. If Cuba had been 7,000 miles away, we would never have had war with Spain, and no crisis such as that which now faces us would exist.

Now, whenever we go to the Philippine Islands we become neighbors to France, to Russia, and to Germany, and the very fact of our neighborhood will keep us perpetually in danger of conflict. But it is said: If all this be true, why is it that England, France, Germany, and other countries are engaged in a mad race for colonial territory? The reasons are many; some of them partly sound and others purely the result of imitation.

England and Germany have for a long time been vexed with the problem of a superabundant population. England has gone so far, at different times, as to actually assist immigration to the United States and other parts of the world. An overcrowded population had to be provided for, so a colonial policy has been as much the result of this state of affairs as from any other cause.

Germany occupies the same situation. France has been led into the same policy on the theory of finding new markets, but those who have studied the problem maturely believe that France has not gained and will not gain anything from her experiment but disaster and loss of time and money.

Besides, all these countries are not self-sustaining. They do not have, like the United States, such a variety of soil and climate that within their own borders one industry can exchange its products for that of the other and a comfortable living be made practicable by all without calling into requisition foreign trade.

England and Germany could not live without the wheat which comes from other countries. They could not thrive without the cotton fields which grow in other countries, and the complete dependence of European nations upon the United States for these great staples of agricultural production in this country has long been the subject of discontent among the thinkers who rule English and German affairs.

Why should England, Germany, and France be held up to the United States as objects of our imitation? Why should it be proposed that we abandon the safe tenets of our fathers and start upon a rivalry with them in the greed for distant possessions?

Are laborers paid better in England and Germany than they are in the United States? Are the masses of Europe more comfortable than the masses of this Republic?

If we have done so much better, if in a hundred years we have reached a height of power which England and Germany have not attained in a thousand years, why should we abandon our policy for theirs?

Where has the world ever witnessed such another record as that made by this Union under the fostering principles we are now about to abandon?

But after the music and the march have passed by, after the dance of delirium has worn us out, there will come a time of reckoning and mourning. I can but think of what will fall to our people in future years. After we have vindicated, by great sacrifice of the

treasure and blood of America, our ability to measure arms with the powers of Europe in their schemes of colonization upon the Eastern Hemisphere, I feel that the good folks at home are going to be the sufferers for all time—sufferers in purse, sufferers in morals, sufferers in institutions.

The question is asked with an air of confidence, as if it presented a difficulty which could not be overcome, "What are you going to do with the Philippines?" It is even claimed here in debate that we possess only a choice of alternatives; on the one hand, to take the Philippines as a part of our territory, or, on the other, to leave them to the dominion of Spain. This is mere assumption. We should do neither one thing nor the other. If we were under no obligations to the present insurgent forces in the Philippines it would be our duty, in view of the principles so long and proudly held by this Government, to provide for independent government by the people concerned and leave them to their just destiny.

But the case is still stronger. The evidence published in connection with the treaty shows conclusively that Aguinaldo and his forces were of steady, valuable support to the American commanders. The same evidence shows that these people looked upon themselves as the allies of the United States and believed faithfully that they were to be the beneficiaries of a joint success. I know not how it may impress others, but there seems to me something shameful in now turning to the Filipinos and saying to them, "You were not our allies; you were our tools; you were the victims of our diplomacy. We were merely using you, and our consuls and commanders were instructed privately not to commit this Government in a way which would deny us the privilege of ordering

WOMEN CIGARMAKERS, MANILA.

the fate of the Philippines without regard to your wishes."

Men talk about our moral duties to the world, about what we owe to England and to China and the peace of mankind, but it seems to me that a great nation of intelligence and power owes to a weak and trustful people like the Filipinos the duty of respecting our engagement with them in the same sense in which they understood it. There is no danger either to the peace of the world or the prestige of our Republic in taking this course. It has been said upon this floor that if we did this Germany, France, Russia, or England would seize these islands. But the truth is that this difficulty is entirely unreal.

It would be easy for us to treat the Philippine Islands as we treat Liberia. That Republic is not on the Western Hemisphere. We do not claim that it falls under the influence of the Monroe doctrine. It is located on the coast of Africa, where Germany, England, and France are pushing forward for new territory.

We never have undertaken to exercise the slightest sovereignty over it. Yet we have had occasion to define a policy in regard to it. I read from Wharton's Digest of International Law, section 66, from a letter dated April 21, 1880, written by Mr. Evarts, while Secretary of State, to Mr. Hoppin:

"The United States are not averse to having the great powers know that they publicly recognize the peculiar relations between them and Liberia, and that they are prepared to take every proper step to maintain them. To this end it is not inexpedient that you, and Mr. Lowell also, on his return to his post from his present leave, should evince a lively interest in the movements of both Great Britain and France in the neighborhood of Liberia."

While Wharton does not publish the entire letter, I find, on examining the files of the State Department, a further expression in the same letter which may be usefully quoted here:

"The attitude of the European powers which may have established themselves in the vicinity of Liberia becomes of interest to the United States whenever it may assume a tendency to disparage the asserted rights of native self-control."

In 1884 a letter was written on the same general subject by Mr. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State, to Mr. Roustan, the French minister. Wharton quotes a part of that letter also, as follows:

"Liberia, although not a colony of the United States—"

We claimed no jurisdiction over it whatever—

"began its independent career as an offshoot of this country, which bears to it a quasi-parental relationship, which authorizes the United States to interpose its good offices in any contest between Liberia and a foreign state, and a refusal to give the United States an opportunity to be heard for this purpose would make 'an unfavorable impression in the minds of the Government and the people of the United States.'"

In the same letter it is said:

"It seems, however, proper that I should in the name of this Government advise you provisionally that the United States would consider a French claim to territory in the Mannah River as threatening the integrity and tranquillity of Liberia. I should, however, be most happy to learn that the report of French occupation of Kents Island is unfounded."

On another occasion, in 1880, Mr. Evarts, while Secretary of State, wrote a letter to Mr. Noyes, in which he called attention to the information which had been received here that the French Government had designs of establishing a protectorate over the Liberian Republic.

Mr. Noyes, the American minister to France, wrote back that on making inquiry he had discovered that there was no intention of the part of the French Government to institute a protectorate over Liberia. That letter was published in the volume of "Foreign Relation of the United States" for 1879, and Mr. Noyes, having ascertained in advance that it would be published, suggested that it was necessary to put the correspondence in print. But our Government declined to heed his suggestion, and it was said:

"It is therefore quite suitable that the great powers should know that the United States publicly recognizes those relations which we

bear to Liberia, and is prepared to take every proper step to maintain them."

Our entire interest in Liberia has been put on the ground that it was settled by Africans who left this country, and a hint from us has never failed to arrest all designs cherished by European nations against this little Republic.

Now, if we go into the Philippine Islands and give those people their just inheritance of independence, our Government can say rightfully to the world that the people of the Philippine Islands established their independence by aid of our arms; they sustained us in the war against Spain, and we shall therefore always regard them as objects of our parental care. Not one of the powers of Europe would dare to make the slightest aggression upon the independent government of the Philippines at the hazard of our displeasure.

I wish to say in conclusion that the idea that we must either take the treaty as it is or subject ourselves to tremendous consequences of difficulty with Spain is another unreal conception in connection with this situation. Spain has no money, no navy, no hopes; and whenever the United States says, "You must make the same relinquishment in regard to the Philippine Islands that you have made in regard to Cuba," she will instantly yield to our pleasure and close up a war which has advertised alike her folly and weakness. But Senators say we can attend to all these questions after we have ratified the treaty.

He is but a poor student of human nature who depends too much upon his own firmness of purpose in dealing with great and constant questions in a great and constant way. The people of the United States never have given up a foot of territory. The smallest acquisition becomes a matter of pride after it once be-

comes a part of the Republic. When two or five years from now it is proposed to give up the Philippines the Senator from Colorado, or some other Senator, will rise to say that if we give them up Germany will take them, or England will take them, or Russia will take them, and we will always have this scarecrow of foreign interference in the affairs of the Philippine Islands to deter us from acting in the way our better judgment might suggest.

Let us make no pretexts. Let us not trample upon the aspirations of the Philippine people to imitate the character of this Republic.

I am one of those who believe in a Providence which cares for the destiny of collective millions. I feel that our toilers have outstripped all others and grown greater in a century than nations that have lived a thousand years, not alone because we have more energy and more brain than those who dwell in other lands, but because we have been the justest nation of all history. In this great crisis let us show to all hearts and all time that the American Republic still furnishes the world's best example of righteous rulers and a free people.

CHAPTER XXVI.

INDEPENDENCE FOR THE PHILIPPINES.

BY HON. AUGUSTUS O. BACON,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM GEORGIA.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, First—That the Government and people of the United States have not waged the recent war with Spain for conquest and for the acquisition of foreign territory, but solely for the purposes set forth in the resolution of Congress making the declaration of said war, the acquisition of such small tracts of land or harbors as may be necessary for governmental purposes being not deemed inconsistent with the same.

Second—That in demanding and in receiving the cession of the Philippine Islands it is not the purpose of the Government of the United States to secure and maintain dominion over the same as a part of the territory of the United States, or to incorporate the inhabitants thereof as citizens of the United States, or to hold said inhabitants as vassals or subjects of this Government.

Third—That whereas at the time of the declaration of war by the United States against Spain, and prior thereto, the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands were actively engaged in a war with Spain to achieve their independence and whereas said purpose and the military operations thereunder have not been abandoned, but are still being actively prosecuted thereunder, therefore, in recognition of and in obedience to the vital principle announced in the great declaration that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," the Government of the United States recognizes that the people of the Philippine Islands of a right ought to be free and independent; that, with this view and to give effect to the same, the Government of the United States has required the Government of Spain to relinquish its authority and government in the Philippine Islands and to withdraw its land and naval forces from the Philippine Islands and from the waters thereof.

Fourth—That the United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said islands, and assert their determination, when a stable and independent government shall have been duly erected therein entitled to recognition as such, to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people.

I have introduced these resolutions not simply for the purpose of procuring a basis upon which to make a speech; I have introduced them for the practical purpose, if possible, of furnishing a basis upon which the question relative to the future policy of the Government in connection with the Philippine Islands may

be satisfactorily adjusted and agreed upon, not only by the Senate but by the other branches of the law-making power.

The fundamental requirement in these resolutions is that the Government of the United States will not undertake to exercise permanent dominion over the Philippine Islands. The resolutions are intentionally made broad, so that those who agree upon that fundamental proposition may stand upon them even though they may differ materially as to a great many other things relative to the future course of this Government in connection with the Philippine Islands.

Those with whom I am in sympathy in this discussion do not favor the acquisition by the United States of distant territories, of territories so remote as not to be within the proper sphere of the influence of the United States, and more especially of territories peopled by an altogether alien and different race. Further than that, we do not believe that it is consistent with our views and in harmony with the principles of our Government that any territory, speaking generally, should be annexed to the United States against the will of the people inhabiting such territory. We do not believe that it is possible to safely incorporate as a State any community lying on the opposite side of the globe. We do not believe that it is either to the interest or within the governmental power of this country to annex territory with a view to its being held as a colony, and its citizens, or rather its inhabitants, held as vassals.

Many who are reluctant to relinquish the Philippine Islands, and who are at the same time unwilling to commit themselves to the doctrine of forcible annexation, who at the same time are not willing to put the Government in the position of ruining a people

and subjecting them against their will, endeavor to reconcile themselves by the proposition that the government which we propose to give to that country shall be a good government, that it shall be a government which will better their condition, and that it will be one which in its administration will be consistent with free institutions.

That proposition, while of course a very much more considerate one than the extreme of the subjugation of a people, is still inconsistent with free institutions. Wherever a people are required to render an obedience which is involuntary, that requirement is an enslavement of that people.

There are different degrees of enslavement. If we put our yoke upon a people, if we rule them arbitrarily, if we send them governors and judges, if we make laws for them without their participation, if we enforce obedience to such laws by our army, then it is an absolute enslavement. If, on the contrary, we allow them free institutions, but at the same time prescribe to them that they shall owe allegiance to a government against their will, it is none the less an enslavement, although less in degree.

There is but one government among the leading nations of the earth that recognizes the right of self-government in a people, that recognizes that the consent of a people is an essential to their government, and when this Government practically denies that right, in the march of free institutions the hand upon the dial of the clock of the world has been set back an hundred years.

It is impossible to conceive that this Government will knowingly and purposely deny to a people the right of self-government; it is incredible that the liberty-loving people of this country will by force of arms

impose a government upon another people against their will—a people who owed us no allegiance—who are struggling to be free. There is no public man who will admit that he is in favor of that proposition; there is no official, no Senator, who would not repel the charge, if it were made against him, that he would thus violate the right of self-government.

Senators argue as to the power of the Government to acquire dominion over foreign territory; they argue as to the duty of the Government to exercise this authority; but when the question is squarely put to them, when the issue is put where it can not be evaded, "Do you favor the subjection of another country and the imposition of the power of this Government without the consent of that people?" they shrink away from the acknowledgment of such a position.

Senator Foraker from Ohio, in his speech the other day, in speaking of the purpose of himself and those who agree with him as to the future of the Philippine Islands, used this language:

> I do not understand anybody to be proposing to take the Philippine Islands with the idea and view of permanently holding them and denying to the people there the right to have a government of their own if they are capable of it and want to establish it. I do not understand that anybody wants to do that. I have not heard of anybody who wants to do that. The President of the United States does not, I know, and no Senator in this chamber has made any such statement.

And also Senator Grant of Delaware, in a speech made at a complimentary dinner given in his honor by the Board of Trade of that city, used similar language, as follows:

> But now that we have them——

He was speaking not only of the Philippine Islands, but of the West India Islands also, I judge from the connection—

But now that we have them, it does not follow that we are committed to a colonial policy or to a violation of those great principles of liberty and self-government which must always remain American ideals if our own free institutions are to endure.

No country, and this country least of all, can afford to trample on its ideals. I have no fear that it will do so.

Without assuming for a moment any right to speak for the President, I think I can assure you, with some knowledge whereof I speak, that he fully appreciates the duties and responsibilities of the situation, and that he is committed to no policy calculated to discourage, much less strike down, the aspirations of liberty-loving people all over the world.

I am extremely gratified to have these expressions from these distinguished Senators, and I am particularly gratified to know that they reflect, of their own personal knowledge, the views of the President with regard to this most important matter. If the views expressed by the Senator from Ohio in his speech and by the Senator from Delaware in his speech, which I have quoted, are those upon which we are to act, there is very little difference between us, and there will be no future contention between us if we can have an authoritative expression from the lawmaking power of the United States in a joint resolution that such is the purpose of the future.

When in that solemn moment we stood forth to dare and meet the necessary sacrifice, we called upon God and men to witness the purity of our motives and the unselfishness of our intentions. We declared in language almost identical with the language of the resolutions which I have had the honor to introduce that we did not propose to wage this war for aggrandizement, that we did not wage it for conquest, but that we waged it, or proposed to wage it, in the interest of humanity. We declared that when a stable government was secured in Cuba we would withdraw from that island and leave the affairs of that country to its own inhabitants.

That war has practically passed; the sacrifice which we anticipated was not exacted of us; the sacrifice in life was comparatively trifling; a special danger which

we anticipated did not come, for behind all of the anticipations of possible sacrifice of blood and treasure there was the specter, which we now remember, although we may in the hour of victory have forgotten it, of the possibility of European intervention and a consequent world's war. Not only has there been little sacrifice, but there has been no intervention, and there will be no intervention, and we now know not only that we are to do as we see fit in Cuba, but that we are to work our will with the Philippine Islands so far as other nations are concerned.

What I desire by these resolutions is this: That now, in the hour of our victory, in the time of our undisputed physical power, we shall accord to the Philippine Islands exactly what we proposed in the beginning, when the matter was in doubt, we would accord to the Cubans.

When the declaration of war was made the Philippine Islands were not within the contemplation of Congress. We were thinking only of the Cubans. But suppose when the Senator from Colorado introduced his fourth resolution as an amendment to those resolutions, in which we declared substantially what is declared in these resolutions, that the war was not to be waged for aggrandizement or for conquest, but that we proposed at the proper time to surrender the control of Cuban affairs to the Cubans—suppose when that amendment was proposed there had been a further amendment proposed excepting the Philippine Islands, and suppose we had said that while we did propose to deal thus with the Cubans, so far as the Philippine Islands were concerned, we proposed, if we could take them, to do so, and to appropriate them to ourselves. With the feeling then upon us, with the intention which we then had to exhibit to the world the purity of our motives, can there be any doubt as

to the action of Congress in voting down those resolutions?

If we had passed resolutions and made the exception to the Philippine Islands, it would have utterly defeated the purpose of the disclaimer in those resolutions. If, on the contrary, we had expressed at the time our intention with reference to Cuba, and purposely withheld our expression of intention with reference to the Philippine Islands, it would have been the practicing of an unworthy deceit; and there is no principle which was involved in the disclaimer with reference to the Cuban people which does not also apply to the Filipinos; and the object I have in these resolutions is that we may put ourselves in that position.

Why is it that the Filipinos refuse to recognize the right of the American troops to occupy the islands? Is it because they are hostile to American troops? By no means. Is it because they are unwilling that the United States Government shall assist them in the establishment of a government? Certainly not. Is it because they are reluctant that the United States shall hold possession until it can be ascertained whether or not they can be safely left without becoming a prey to other foreign governments? Assuredly not.

They would be glad to have the United States troops there with the avowal of such purposes from the United States Government, but they are opposed to the occupation of their islands by the United States troops because of the apprehension that it is the purpose of the United States Government to maintain permanent dominion in those islands; and whenever we shall, by such resolutions as these, say solemnly to the world that such is not our purpose, there is no longer any danger of difficulty. Without it, even as we sit here to-day, there is very great danger of it.

It is a famous saying that the shot at Concord rang

around the world. If that shot, which we dread and fear, should be heard at Manila, or in any other part of the Philippine Islands, it also will ring around the world, but it will carry no cheer to the downtrodden and the oppressed.

We hear a great deal about the obligations which we owe to the Philippine Islands. Some curious logic has been evolved on this question. Ordinarily the man who is under obligation is the one who has to contribute something for the benefit of the man to whom he is under obligation. The obligor is the man who bears the burden; the obligor is the man who makes the sacrifice; the obligor is the man who pays the debt. The obligee is the man who receives the benefit from the obligor.

Yet, in this instance, those who favor the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, and who try to put it upon the high ground that we are under obligation to the Filipinos, reason it out that we, the obligors, are to receive the islands in discharge of the obligation! Without stopping to analyze so untenable a proposition as that, I desire to ask the attention of the Senate to the consideration of the question, What are the obligations that we owe to the Philippine Islands or to their inhabitants?

When we went there to attack Spain we accepted of the co-operation and alliance of the Filipinos for the purpose of furthering our cause. We gave arms and we gave ammunition to them, and while the war progressed there was over a month after the battle of Manila during which there was not an American regiment upon the Philippine Islands, and during all of that time the Spaniards were beleaguered by Dewey on the sea and Aguinaldo on the land in co-operation and alliance.

Now, it is a sound proposition that that fact laid an

obligation upon the United States, and only one obligation, and that obligation was that we would not make peace with Spain without breaking the power of Spain in the Philippine Islands. That obligation was laid upon us. It would have been a gross breach of faith if we had not required that Spain should relinquish her power in the Philippine Islands.

But what was the necessary corollary of the performance of that obligation? Could it be said that the obligation growing out of that co-operation and that alliance was discharged by requiring Spain to relinquish her power in the Philippine Islands, and by then taking those islands for ourselves?

If so, with equal force it might have been urged at the conclusion of our Revolutionary War that France should make a treaty with Great Britain and take thereunder a cession of the American colonies. The very same facts which laid upon us the obligation to break the power of Spain in the Philippines laid upon us the obligation to recognize the freedom of that people. When we accepted of the co-operation and the alliance of the Filipinos, we necessarily recognized that they were in the prosecution of a rightful rebellion; we necessarily practically recognized them as belligerents.

They were there engaged at that time in a rightful rebellion, or they were bandits; they were, in the latter case, outlaws, and the United States authorities had no right to accept of their co-operation and their alliance. There is no refinement of reasoning, there is no finesse of logic which can get away from the conclusion that when we sailed into Manila Bay and recognized those people as rightful belligerents, put arms and ammunition in their hands, and accepted of their co-operation and their alliance, we not only became, by every high and honorable obligation, bound to see

to it that the power of Spain was broken in the Philippines, but we fell under an obligation, no less imperative, that when it was broken the Filipinos should get the benefit of it, and not the American people. My contention is that we certainly incurred that obligation and that it is the only obligation.

I want to analyze that proposition a moment, because there is a great deal of general talk about our obligations to the Filipinos; obligations which are to require that this Government shall maintain a great armament; obligations which are to require us to continue practically in a state of war; obligations which are to require us to throw down the gauntlet to the whole world, and say we are the guardians of the Philippine Islands and nobody else shall touch them; obligations which are to require us to see to it that eight or ten millions of savages on the other side of the globe maintain a peaceful and orderly government. There must be some controlling reason upon which any such contention can be based.

We went to war with Spain not for the purpose of correcting all the evils with which her people were afflicted; we went to war with Spain not to break the chains of tyranny with which she might be binding her different colonies; we did not undertake to be the great universal benefactor and to right all the wrongs of all the world, or even all the wrongs that Spain might be inflicting upon any of her people. We went to war because a particular colony which she was afflicting lay at our doors; we went to war because the disorders of that Government affected the peace of our community and were injurious to our material interest. We said there was a condition of affairs which was unbearable and that we would put an end to it.

To that extent and to that alone we claimed and avowed the reason for the declaration of war. So it

follows that the mere declaration of war did not affect in any manner our relations with the Philippine Islands except to put us in a state of war with them as a part of the Spanish domain, and in no manner laid any obligations upon us as to those islands. We were not charged with the duty of preserving order in Asia. We were not charged with the obligations of seeing that they had a stable and orderly government in any part of that hemisphere. No such duty rested upon us. None such was assumed by us.

Therefore the simple declaration of war did not lay any obligation upon us to the Philippine Islands, and I desire that any Senator will put his finger upon the act which laid us under any obligations to the Philippine Islands outside of the fact that in the war which ensued we took those who were the insurgents in those islands to be our allies and made a common cause with them.

Now, all that grows out of that—all that grows out of the fact of that co-operation and that alliance—is to impose upon us a single obligation which we must not ignore. How far does that obligation go? Does it require that we shall for all time undertake to be the guardians of the Philippine Islands? Does that particular obligation lay upon us the duty hereafter, not only now but for years to come, to maintain an expensive military establishment, to burden our people with debt, to run the risk of becoming involved in wars in order that we may keep our hands upon the Philippine Islands and keep them in proper condition hereafter?

What is the effect of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands? It will be an entirely new departure. It will commit us to a colonial policy necessarily, because it is not possible, it is not within the contemplation of the American people, that the Philippine Islands

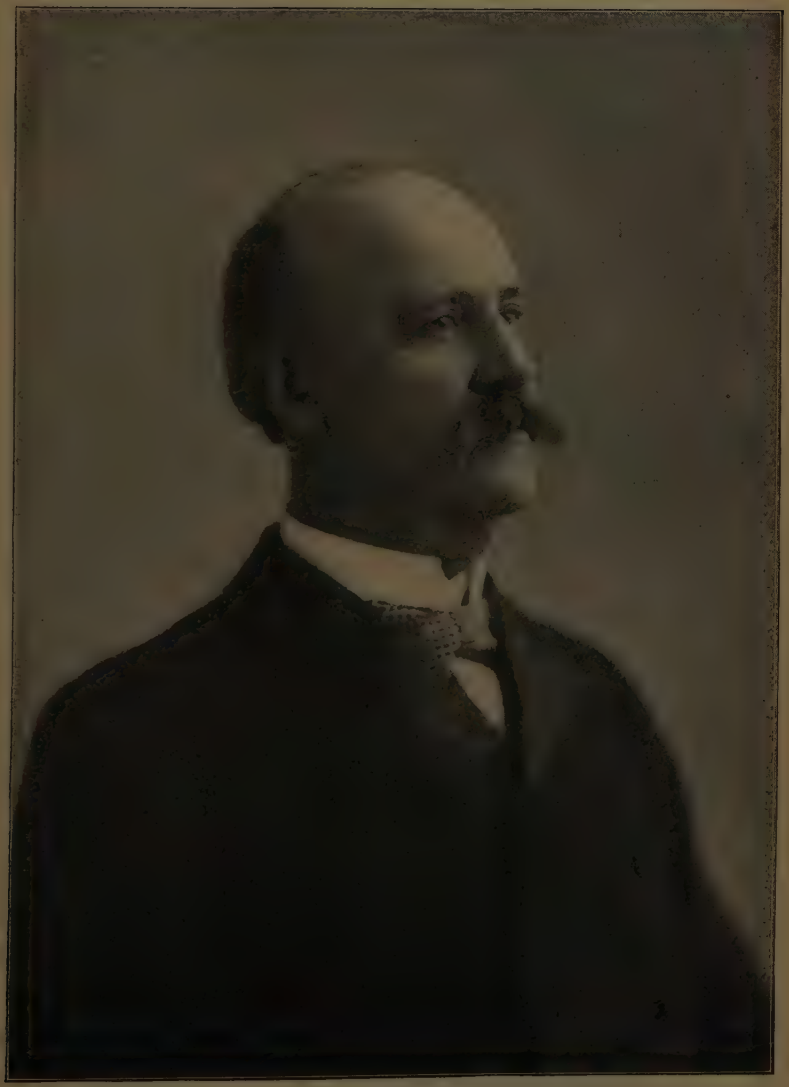
should ever be converted into a State or into States and admitted into participation in the affairs of this Government.

That is out of the question. That is an absolute impossibility. Not only is there the consideration of great distance, but the people are absolutely foreign in every particular, foreign in religion, foreign in race, totally unassimilable to our people, and absolutely unqualified for the exercise of such duties as are devolved upon States and their representatives in the Government. So it comes down squarely to the proposition, will you hold the Philippine Islands as a colony?

Whenever we come to that position, whenever we reach that point and say we will, then we have committed ourselves to a new and permanent policy.

If the Philippines are annexed this territory must either be in the end admitted as States in the Union with their people as citizens, entitled to equal rights and power with the citizens of other States, or the territory must be held as colonies with their people as subjects and vassals of the United States.

What is the result if these islands are acquired and held as colonies? The logic of the situation will be to acquire more Asiatic territory, and after that to reach out for still more. There is no reason for the acquisition of the Philippines which will not apply to the acquisition of other parts of Asia, each acquisition furnishing a reason why another part still beyond should be also acquired. The acquisition of the Philippines will commit this Government to the colonial or imperial policy. The logic of that policy will certainly require that we actively enlarge our efforts and seek to bring under our dominion all countries whose people are too weak to resist our colossal power, and which have not already been added to the land-grab-



A. O. Bacon

bing and nation-appropriating governments of Europe.

Under this policy our Government will abandon its peaceful career and reach out to the ends of the earth for empire and power that we may with a strong arm dominate and rule over distant lands and peoples of every race, condition and color. This reach-out for empire will inevitably lead to wars, not such wars as the little one, with its trifling sacrifices, through which we have just passed; but great wars, with all their sacrifices. It means vast armies, composed in large part of our young men, ready on a day's notice to cope in bloody conflict with the great military powers of the earth. It means peace at evening, perhaps, with no certainty but that the morrow will find us participants in a world's war.

Let us not be misled by our recent war in which we suffered such little sacrifice of life. Such is not the usual fortune. War seldom fails to claim its victims, and there are many now living who remember a war which laid its bloody hand on some member of nearly every family in the land. If we would not invite a return of such days of sacrifice we should not embark our fortunes in distant ventures to dare the depths and shoals of unknown seas.

If we are to enter into the struggle for foreign dominion and empire, we can not escape the ever-present danger of war which, like an angry, never-disappearing cloud, year in and year out, hangs over Europe. The nations of Europe are watching with keen anxiety the course which the Government of the United States will take in this matter. England especially is showing the keenest interest and anxiety. Why is it? Why has England this interest? Why has she this anxiety that we shall take the Philippine Islands? Why is it that the London papers are daily burdened with ex-

hortations to our people and to our Government to acquire and exercise dominion in the Philippine Islands? Is it because England is so anxious that we shall be aggrandized? Is it because England is so anxious that we shall increase our power, or has she a selfish motive in it?

Of course it would be very interesting to go into all the utterances of the British press and the British officials, but I have in mind a particular utterance that was in the mind of the British people when the fact was suggested to them that the Senator from Ohio, from the President's own State and speaking, as he said, from personal knowledge of the intention of the President, had said that it was not the purpose permanently to occupy those islands, and here was the effect produced upon the British mind.

The last clause which I read shows what was the thought in the mind. It may be that there are additional thoughts; it may be that there are additional motives, but the particular thought, the one which made the announcement fall like a dash of cold water on the British public, on British officialdom, was this:

"They began to question what was the profit of this friendship if America did not propose to back up Great Britain's policy in the far East by retaining the most important base of operation in the event of war over China."

Not what was going to be the effect in maintaining peace, but what would be the effect if America failed to back up Great Britain in a war over China? There is where we have the utterance which exemplifies the unselfishness and disinterestedness of our English cousins in this particular desire on their part that we shall annex the Philippines. In practical effect they

said this: "What is the benefit to us of American friendship if America is not going to back up and aid Great Britain in a war over China?"

It is in order that if war comes we also may be involved in it. It is in order that if the European coalition against her is too strong she may have as an ally the great United States of America.

If that war comes it will not be confined to the Orient. If that war comes it will involve every leading nation of the world. If that war comes, not only will our young men lay their bones upon the distant soil of Asia, but our own country will have to stand its defense. When that war comes there is not a seacoast city but that will be in danger of destruction from the allied navies of the world. This may be a remote possibility, but if so it is a possibility so fraught with disaster to the United States that I will do nothing to tempt so dire a fate.

I am not without sympathy for the English. I am not hostile to them, but quite the contrary. All the blood that I have in me comes from English ancestry. I am proud of the fact and would not have it otherwise if I could. I am proud of the English race; I am proud of the grand civilization given to the world by England; I am proud of her history; I am proud of her achievements; and if the time came that the great powers leagued themselves together to destroy her, I would be willing to go to her side and bare our breasts in her defense. Whenever her life was at stake I think we would owe that much to the mother country.

But when it comes to being involved in war, when it comes to being liable to sacrifice everything in this country that peace can bring us and endure everything that war can inflict upon us, in order that England may carry out her schemes of foreign colonization and

foreign dominion, then I am opposed to anything which will involve us in any such conflict. Who can shut his eyes to the fact, who for a moment can doubt, that if we reach out and take these islands we have put ourselves in a position where we are in danger at any time of being involved in a world's war?

I cannot go into that question—I mean at length. But it must necessarily result in the maintenance of a great army in the Philippine Islands. Ten millions of people can not be held in subjection by a regiment or a brigade or a division. Ten millions of people, especially such as they are, must be held in subjection by a large army—not only a large army, but, situated as they are, upon twelve hundred islands, by a large navy. Are we to have war taxes forever? Are we never to have relief from the war burdens which the people cheerfully took up, expecting them to be short? Are they to be annoyed and burdened forever with the war tax? Is it to be increased?

Who can believe that it is possible to do away with the war tax if we take the Philippine Islands. The ordinary peace expenses of the Government can not be met by customs revenue and the former peace internal revenue. If we take on these new burdens, the extent of which no man can foretell, we must not only have continued war taxes, but we must also certainly have continued bond issues.

Again, do Senators consider the Herculean task which we undertake when we say that we will maintain a military establishment in the Philippine Islands? Do they realize that even when not at war with a foreign power we must maintain there an army of at least 30,000 men? Do they for a moment realize what it is to transport a hundred thousand men across the sea? And yet, if we became involved in a war with a

foreign power, we would have to transport more than a hundred thousand men across the Pacific Ocean.

If we become involved in a war with a foreign power, the Philippine Islands would be our weak spot. It was the weak spot of Spain, and we struck it first because it was the weak spot, and if we succeeded to her dominion it would be our weak spot, and any foreign government with which we engaged in war would strike that first. If we were to maintain our authority, if we were to meet that stroke, at least 100,000 men must be transported across the Pacific Ocean, 7,000 miles.

I am going to suggest but one more thought and then I will not further trespass upon the Senate. It has been suggested by another portion of the dispatch from London which I read, which quotes the London Spectator. In speaking about the Americans and the Philippine Islands the paper, which this dispatch calls "the solemn Spectator," says as follows:

> We believe the Americans to be one of these. Fifty years hence, under their control, the Filipinos will be orderly, law-abiding persons, like our own Hindoos.

Fifty years of burden to the American people, fifty years of a great army and a great navy, fifty years of liability to world's wars to get them into the condition of the Hindoos!

The word "Hindoos" has brought the suggestion to me which I am now to make, and that is that the colonization of people like the Hindoos, people like the Filipinos, unavoidably, in order that they may be kept in subjection, brings to the government which controls them the necessity of cruelty, of the hard iron hand, of utter indifference to the shedding of blood.

I have here a book written by Mr. John Russell Young, the official of this Government who to-day

lies dead, and about whom I know I may be permitted to pause to say what Senators will indorse, that he had the respect and the confidence and the affection of all the men who knew him. It is a book published by him, called "Around the World with General Grant," and he gives here an account of the cruelties practiced by the British authorities for the purpose of keeping the Hindoos in subjection.

It is a brief account of the treatment of one regiment of Sepoys, not all of them: a regiment which had been disarmed; a regiment which had tried to make its escape; a regiment which, it is true, had murdered some of its officers. Now I am going to read the account of this as given by Mr. Young in the second volume of that work, on page 93:

"The Twenty-sixth Native Infantry—"

Speaking of the Indian infantry—

"The Twenty-sixth Native Infantry had been disarmed in May and kept under guard. On July 30 some madman in the regiment killed the major. The author of this murder was a favorite named Prakash Pandy, who rushed out of his hut, called upon his comrades to rise, and, seeing the major, killed him. The sergeant-major was also slain. The Twenty-sixth had served with distinction in many campaigns, notably in the Afghan campaign of 1842. It was thought that the fugitives would run south to Delhi to join the king.

"But they took a northern direction, away from the war, anxious to reach Cashmere, to be out of India. They had no guns. There was a drenching rain, and the country was almost flooded. The troops came up with them, shooting 150 and driving them into the river, drowned inevitably, 'too weakened and famished, as they must have been after their forty miles' flight, to battle with the flood.' The main body escaped, swimming and floating to an island, 'where

they might be descried crouching like a brood of wild fowl.' Mr. Cooper started out to capture them"

After stating the fact of the capture, it goes on:

"The doomed men, with joined palms, the Hindoo attitude of entreaty, crowded into the boats and were brought on shore. 'In utter despair forty or fifty dashed into the stream and disappeared.' No order was given to fire, and the fugitives, says Mr. Cooper in a spirit of playfulness, became possessed of a 'sudden and insane idea that they were going to be tried by a court-martial after some luxurious refreshment.'

"So they were brought on shore, one by one, tightly bound, their decorations and necklaces ignominiously cut off. 'Some begged that their women and children might be spared, and were informed that the British Government did not condescend to war with women and children.' They were marched to the town, 'the gracious moon,' Mr. Cooper informing us, coming out through the clouds, and reflecting herself in myriad pools and streams to 'light the prisoners to their fate.'

"They arrived at midnight. Next morning at daybreak Mr. Cooper took his seat. He had 282 prisoners, besides numbers of camp followers. He sent his Mohammedan troops, fearing they might hesitate to shoot Mohammedans, to a religious festival, and, alone with his 'faithful Sikhs,' proceeded to do justice. 'Ten by ten,' says Mr. Cooper, 'the Sepoys were called forth. Their names having been taken down in succession, they were pinioned, linked together, and marched to execution, a firing party being in readiness. Every phase of deportment,' says Mr. Cooper, in a critical, observant spirit, 'was manifested by the doomed men, after the sullen firing of volleys of distant musketry forced the conviction of inevitable death—astonishment, rage, frantic despair, the most stoic calmness.'"

Then he goes on to state the demeanor of these men as they passed by where Mr. Cooper was, etc.:

"Others again petitioned to be allowed to make one last salam to the sahib. About 150 having been thus executed, one of the executioners swooned away (he was the oldest of the firing party), and a little rest was allowed. Then proceeding, the number had arrived at 237 (that is, the number who had been killed or shot), when the district officer was informed that the remainder refused to come out of the bastion, where they had been imprisoned temporarily a few hours before. Expecting a mob and resistance, preparations were made against escape, but little expectation was entertained of the real and awful fate which had fallen on the remainder of the mutineers. They had anticipated by a few short hours their doom. The doors were opened, and, behold, they were nearly all dead. Unconsciously the tragedy of the Black Hole had been re-enacted.

"No cries had been heard during the night in consequence of the hubbub, tumult and shouting of horsemen, police, tehseel guards and excited villagers. Forty-five bodies dead from fright, exhaustion, fatigue, heat, and partial suffocation were dragged into light and consigned, in common with all the other bodies, into one common pit by the hands of village sweepers. One sepoy was too much wounded to be shot and was sent to Lahore along with forty-one subsequent captives, where they were all blown from cannon. The assembled natives, says Mr. Cooper, expected to see the women and children thrown into the pit, and because this was not done 'marveled at the clemency and the justice of the British.'

* * * * * *

"Mr. Cooper's superiors approved his acts. Sir John Lawrence informed him that he had acted with energy

and spirit and deserved well of the State. The judicial commissioner was more enthusiastic. 'My dear Cooper: * * * It will be a feather in your cap as long as you live. You will have abundant money to reward all, and the (executioners) Sikhs should have a good round sum given to them. You have had slaughter enough. We want a few for the troops here (to be blown from cannon), and also for evidence.'"

I do not read that for the purpose of casting any reflection upon the English people. On the contrary, I recognize them as the most Christian and the most humane nation of Europe. But only with the sword and gun can millions of the semi-civilized be kept in subjection. The very best that can be said, and what is proper to be said, is that it was necessary that the English should perpetrate this cruelty, this butchery, if they would maintain their dominion in India, and that is the purpose for which I have read it. I have read it to illustrate the fact that in order to maintain dominion over such people only such desperate remedies can be applied for the purpose of keeping them in subjection.

Why, I was a school-boy at the time the events narrated in this book took place, and I shall never forget the impression made upon me in looking at the pictorial newspapers, Harper's Weekly I recollect particularly, with the pictures of the sepoys bound to the mouths of cannon and blown to pieces. And, if we are to maintain dominion over these millions of people in the Philippine Islands, nothing but the strong hand, nothing but cruelty, nothing but the iron rule will enable us to maintain that dominion. I do not want any such transactions under the American flag.

As I was saying, if we are to maintain dominion over this foreign, alien people, these Mohammedans, these people accustomed to revolution, and to

blood, and to disorder, if you please, we will be compelled to do it with an iron hand, regardless of the shedding of blood. And I repeat, I want no such transactions under the American flag. I do not want it to be that we will have to send governors and judges there to be brought back here to be tried for their oppressions of a people like them. I want no Warren Hastings arrayed before the bar of the Senate to be tried upon impeachment articles for oppressions of a people whom we are seeking to rule.

I want to hear nothing of another Black Hole or another Lucknow in the Philippine Islands. I want to hear nothing about the blowing of people from cannon by Americans. I want to hear nothing of the shooting of hundreds of men of one regiment, all done in the name of the United States and under the American flag.

In one respect we are certainly the most blessed nation of the earth. It is in the fact that if we continue to attend to our own business, if we continue to look to the development of our own resources, if we stand upon the great principles of the right of a people to self-government, and do not seek to extend our dominion over unwilling lands; if we do this, I say, we are the most blessed of all people in one particular, and that is that we have the power to absolutely command peace on this continent.

Situated as we are with an ocean on each side, with the great power that we have, it is an impossibility, so long as we maintain this position, for any nation to make war against us successfully; and no one will ever attempt it. But if we reach out to Asia, if we become embroiled in the politics of the governments of Europe, more especially if in so doing we surrender our right to maintain the Monroe doctrine and invite all Europe to come and intermeddle with the affairs

on this continent, then that priceless immunity is gone forever, and we are remitted to a period of wars the end of which no man can see.

It has become fashionable to sneer at the advice of Washington that we avoid entangling alliances. Sir, there never was a time when that advice was so important as now.

The greatest curse that can befall a people is war, even though that war be, as has been the last, an unbroken series of victories; not simply because it involves death and bloodshed, but because it accustoms our people and familiarizes them with scenes of violence and of blood; because it accustoms them to the idea of military rule rather than the peaceful agencies of civil government; because it weakens our reverence for and obedience to the great constitutional limitations which have been set up as the guardians of personal and political liberty; because there is no war but what, to a certain extent, works a revolution in the free institutions of the country; because it is generally depraving and demoralizing to the public sentiment.

And, if I may be pardoned in this presence for saying it, I know of no greater illustration of the demoralizing and poisoning effects of war than we find in the fact that there are those who are now advocating a course which must lead to interminable wars, who but two short twelvemonths since stood here the very apostles of peace, the uncompromising opponents of war, and the extreme advocates of the establishment of a permanent board of arbitration which should forever make war impossible and settle all international disputes by arbitration.

And, as war is the greatest curse, peace is the greatest blessing. Peace is ours if we will have it; but

if we do not have it by our will, then we will have wars against our will.

I feel as if I have but touched the subject, but as I close, the thought which impresses my mind is the importance to us that we should preserve our institutions and the principles of our Government, and that at the same time we should preserve the peace of this people; and these things are worth more to us than all the treasures gathered from subject peoples, and more than the dominion of all the islands of the seas.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OUR SHIP OF STATE.

BY HON. GEORGE W. TURNER,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON.

Our gallant ship of state has encountered many storms, and weathered them all, during the one hundred and twenty-three years it has been afloat. It looked at one time as if it would be submerged beneath the turbulent waters which beat against it and washed over it as a result of that elemental and titanic conflict of passions and interests which shook the entire Western Hemisphere from center to circumference; but happily the noble craft rode the storm and came safely into port, battered, bruised, and disfigured to some extent, but bearing unharmed its freight of liberty and nationality so precious to the American people. The builders of that vessel were wise beyond their day and generation, wise beyond any day or generation before or since.

Having launched a beautiful, symmetrical, and noble craft, they, out of their wisdom and experience and great knowledge, charted the seas in which it was to sail with unusual care and vigilance, marking the direction from which adverse winds were likely to come and pointing out with certainty and precision the hidden rocks and unfriendly shores on which many similar craft had laid their bones. Our ship has never encountered serious storms or found herself in dangerous waters except when her pilots have

disregarded these warning admonitions laid down for their guidance.

Yesterday that chart was the cherished heritage of American statesmanship. All professed respect for it and obedience to it. To-day it would appear, if one may judge from utterances in this chamber, that the chart has been torn into tatters and that our noble craft is drifting whither she will on a wild and unknown sea. Where she will finally bring up a century hence, which is but as a day in the life of a nation, if she enters upon the course which some would have her pursue—whether she will then be freighted with the hopes and aspirations of a free and homogeneous people or weighted down with the fortunes of a mixed and mongrel race, cut loose from fixed principles and dominated by lust of dominion and the mercenary instinct which dares all and braves all for commercial gain, no man now living is wise enough to foresee or foretell.

We are being forced into these strange courses on the pretense that Providence has cast on us new responsibilities which we may not shirk. But to my mind there is nothing in the events which have made these resolutions pertinent that forces on the American people the dangerous responsibility against which they are directed.

We are at entire liberty to keep such foreign territory as we have conquered if we want to; and such of it as is suitable for our purposes by reason of its situation, its soil, its climate, and its people and their favoring disposition we may want to keep.

We can give back to our conquered enemy such as we do not want, but that is not our only resource in the premises. It is idle and vain, it seems to me, after we have gone to war for the sole purpose of

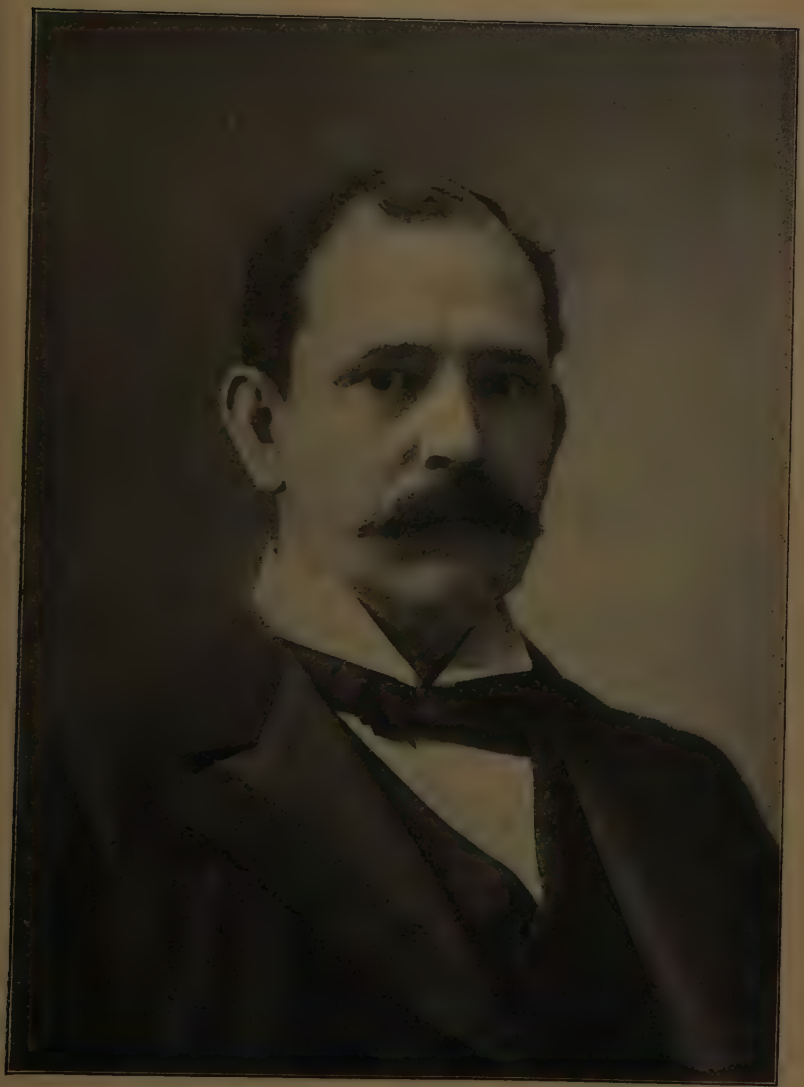
requiring a foreign nation to relinquish sovereignty over a people suffering from misgovernment, to say that we have only two alternatives with reference to the territory invaded and overrun by us during the war, namely, to give it back to our enemy, or to keep it ourselves. If we may keep it ourselves, we may require it to be given to the people who inhabit it, for the purpose of independence and liberty. And that would seem to be a most appropriate, generous and just exercise of our power, if the people who inhabit it have been warring for liberty and independence for years, if they became our allies during our own war, and gave us zealous and loyal support, and if they now tell us, since our common enemy has been vanquished, that, much as they respect and admire us and our institutions, they desire from us nothing but the opportunity to establish for themselves, on the basis of independence, the rights and liberties of their own people.

We are all free citizens of this Republic, and may eat and drink whatever we please; but experience has demonstrated that it is detrimental to health to eat and drink too much. Are not those of us who may have formed temperate resolutions as free as those who give unbridled license to their appetites? Have we lost anything of our freedom, or derogated anything from our standing among our fellows? We still have, indeed, the freedom to break our temperate resolutions if we want to. And so it is with the nation. We walk among the other nations as free as the air, and with as much pride as our power will permit, and so far as they are concerned our sovereignty is limitless and illimitable. If we have made good resolutions to ourselves and promised ourselves to keep them for the good of our health, that is no

concern of theirs. We have promised them nothing and owe them nothing. So far as they are concerned, we have a perfect right to break our resolutions.

The idea that limitations on our sovereign powers, when applied to our own municipal concerns, limit the sovereignty of the nation in the great family of nations and put it at a disadvantage there has no foundation in fact. Every constitutional limitation on the power of government, whether written or unwritten, for the protection of the citizen and the guaranty of wise and orderly government is to some extent an impeachment of sovereignty intraterritorially. But no nation has ever presumed to say that such limitations derogate from the standing of the nation extraterritorially. All nations do in fact maintain the contrary when they hold other nations up to the performance of international obligations notwithstanding internal municipal limitations which may stand in the way.

The language of Washington was that "The great rule for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible;" that it was "unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of Old World politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course." This was the language of prudence, from the lips of him who was godlike in prudence and courage; but it has suddenly become cowardly and un-American to longer give heed to prudential considerations. Washington's fear was not that we should engage in the colonizing business and thus become entangled with European interests. His warn-



Geo. Turner

ing was against entangling alliances which might overcome the great advantage of our detached situation. But neither he nor any of his compeers, nor any of the great statesmen who have since followed them in the administration of the Government, until very lately, ever considered it possible that we should voluntarily give up our advantageous situation by extending our domain beyond this continent and into the very hotbed of European interests and contentions.

When we pass from the domain of prudence to that of principle it will be readily seen, it seems to me, that the proposition of power to which I referred breaks down almost every fundamental principle on which our institutions are founded, or which have been accepted as wise and prudent maxims in their administration. I shall barely mention a few of these principles in this connection, preferring to refer to them at greater length in another connection, or, if that be impracticable, at a later period. Under this new doctrine of government we are to have both citizens and subjects. Our domains are to be divided by imaginary lines, on one side of which the Constitution is a bright and effulgent and life-giving sun, animating to health and continued growth and beneficent principles of civil and religious liberty, and on the other side a cold and silent moon, lighting with its dim and reflected rays a trackless waste of arbitrary and irresponsible power. We are to relegate the Declaration of Independence to the lumber room of useless and obsolete furniture.

The principles that John Hampden fought for, and that cost Charles I. his head, and which our fathers embodied in the Declaration of Independence and fought and died for, namely, that taxation without

representation is tyranny and can not be submitted to without slavery, and "that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," are to be no longer a guide to our statesmen or a protection to our people, or if indeed they be a protection, it is only to those living in certain limited and favored areas. Democratic simplicity as taught by the immortal Jefferson, and which was best exemplified by honesty and economy in the administration of the Government and by unyielding jealousy of large standing armies, is to give way to imperial splendor, dazzling the imagination and corrupting the integrity of our people by its lavish expenditure, its loose and venal rule, and the pomp and circumstance of war, by which alone it can be supported.

Senators may say that their positions do not lead to those things, but there is only one escape from them; a universal miscegenation of blood, of religion, and of government with the yellow Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Confucians over whom it is proposed to extend our protecting wing, and with whom it is proposed to attempt the process of deglutition and digestion disguised under the Christian and euphonious name of "benevolent assimilation." This alternative, while it would be contrary to some of our traditions of government, would not do violence to the principles of liberty on which our Government is founded. But it would do such violence to our blood, to the history and traditions of our race, and would leave such frightful results in mongrelizing our citizenship, that the advocates of the new movement in favor of a greater America prefer the alternative risk of debauching our institutions rather than do that, by an assimilating miscegenation, which will certainly impoverish and debilitate our citizenship.

But the senior Senator from Ohio, while asserting the power of the Government, in the broadest terms, to acquire dominion over other peoples in any manner known to the law of nations, and for any purpose, and to govern them without respect to the Constitution, says that the resolutions presented by the senior Senator from Missouri present a moot question and are unimportant, because no person in the Administration from the President down, has the remotest idea of denying to the Filipinos the utmost liberty and independence in forming their government. I see that the authority of the distinguished Senator to speak for the Administration has lately been denied.

It was noted extensively in the press of the country, while our commissioners were in Paris, that they were in daily touch with the President, and were acting wholly and entirely under his guidance and direction. I find in the treaty, negotiated by our commissioners under this direction of the President, evidence of such a character that it must override the opinion of the Senator from Ohio. I find in that solemn instrument not only a cession to us by Spain of sovereignty over the Philippines, but an acceptance by us of that sovereignty, the language with respect to the Philippines differing so radically from that employed with reference to Cuba as to preclude the idea that it was intended to treat both countries alike.

It is true that the Senator asserts that there were grave state reasons for the difference in phraseology employed with respect to the two countries, which can be stated with propriety only behind closed doors. But to the plain, average American citizen it is difficult to see why we may not protect the Filipinos in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness while form-

ing their government, and afterwards, for the matter of that, as well as we may protect the people of Cuba. The fact that we have wrested their liberty and independence from unwilling hands at the point of the sword and presented it to them is full and ample title to us to maintain it at all times and against all comers by like means; and I apprehend that we would not only do so, but that the entire world so well knows we would do so that no hostile hand would ever be raised against our generous and beneficent purpose. But there is still other evidence in the treaty of the purpose for which it was negotiated.

We have covenanted with Spain to admit her ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as our own for the period of ten years. We have made divers and sundry stipulations, having no limitation of time, for the security of property and individual right in all territory ceded or relinquished by Spain, including ecclesiastical property, which necessarily presupposes continued sovereignty. We have made stipulations concerning judicial proceedings, which presupposes the same thing. We have covenanted to admit certain articles of Spanish production free of duty in the Philippines for ten years. And, finally, we limit these stipulations so far as they apply to Cuba to the time of our occupancy of that island, but we make no such limitation concerning the Philippines.

But more convincing than all this, above and beyond it all, have been the declarations of the President himself. When he asked dramatically at Atlanta, "Who is there that will dare haul down the American flag from the soil upon which it has once been planted by American valor?" the country and the Senate understood him to refer to the Philippines. But

he has since been more explicit and made the meaning of the Administration too plain for controversy. In his orders to General Otis he announced that the policy of the Government toward the Philippines was one of "benevolent assimilation."

No one, I imagine, ever assumed, until so assured by the Senator from Ohio, that "benevolent assimilation" was different from any other kind of assimilation, and that according to the Presidential lexicography it really meant the exact opposite of what it means in other people's dictionaries.

It is familiar constitutional law that the courts follow the political branch of the Government on all political questions. The political branch determines the acquisition of territory and when our sovereignty attaches over it. The political branch also determines when organized or unorganized territory over which our sovereignty has attached shall be admitted as States. So that the purpose for which we may acquire territory can never come into question in the courts of the land, nor can the justice or injustice of excluding the people of American territory from statehood and representation in the Government come into question in the courts. It follows from this that anything judges may have said on the subject in judicial decisions is mere dictum and is entitled to respect accordingly as we respect the judge who may have spoken, and accordingly as he may have spoken with consideration and deliberation or the reverse.

To bring such utterances into this chamber and read them as if that were all that were necessary to foreclose discussion, even if the utterances be in point, is to misapprehend, wholly and entirely, their nature and character. But although the courts can not pronounce it and enforce it, the constitutional limitation

may exist. If it exist, it is binding on the consciences of the members of the legislative and executive departments of the Government. They may violate their oaths of office and set it at naught, and thus nullify it, but they can not destroy it. It is like the unwritten constitutional principles of English liberty. They may be violated time out of mind by the Parliament, but they can never be destroyed; and when the frenzy of the hour has passed which set them aside, they again return to guide and mold the legislation of the great English people. This is a higher, but none the less real, branch of American constitutional law; and it is none the less real, but all the more so, because it is one which has its sole sanction in the consciences of Senators and Representatives and of the President of the United States.

When we come to the Constitution itself to look for light on this question we are confronted first with the preamble to that great instrument, and I find in the noble wording of that preamble some evidence at least of the construction for which I am contending. That instrument was adopted, first, "in order to form a more perfect union," not a cumbersome scheme of government in constant danger of toppling over with its own weight; second, "to establish justice," which all who have read the history of our land know is impossible in colonial government; third, "to insure domestic tranquillity," not to bring in the interests of alien people to disturb tranquillity, or to associate with us even in a subordinate relation unsympathetic and nonassimilable people who would forever bar the hope of tranquillity; fourth, "to provide for the common defense," not to open ourselves to the certainty of aggression and attack; fifth, "to promote the general welfare"—the general welfare of our own people,

not a quixotic crusade to promote the general welfare of all or any other of the peoples of the world; sixth, "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"—to ourselves and our posterity, not somebody else and their posterity.

The fathers were speaking in this connection strictly of ourselves and of our land. They knew that we should grow both in population and area, and they made provision for new and additional States as the result of such growth; but the people who were to be protected by the great charter of our liberties at all times and any and everywhere beneath our flag were to be the American people—the great offshoot of the Anglo-Saxon race which had peopled the temperate zone of North America. They could not have been ignorant, and were not ignorant, of the fact that the greatest menace to the liberty of that people that could be introduced would be to permit indiscriminate political connection with other peoples, different in blood, in religion, in habits and modes of thought, and sufficiently strong in numbers and in climatic protection to leave no hope of their perfect or even approximate assimilation by our own people.

To pass now from the preamble to the body of the instrument, one is struck by the fact that each and every of its provisions is made for the government of a free people. Nowhere is there room for the application of arbitrary power, except in time of war or domestic insurrection.

The doctrine is summed up and stated, with his usual accuracy and fullness, by Professor Pomeroy, from whose work on Constitutional Law the Senator from Connecticut quoted in another connection. Professor Pomeroy says:

"But is Congress absolutely omnipotent over these Districts and Territories? Is it, like the British Parliament, bound by no limita-

tions save those which are self-imposed? This can not be; nor does the language of the Constitution require a construction so much opposed to all our ideas of civil polity. The safeguards of individual rights—those clauses which preserve the lives, liberty, and property of the citizen from the encroachment of arbitrary power—must apply as well to that legislation of Congress which is concerned exclusively with the District of Columbia or with the Territories as to that which is concerned with the States. The reasoning which leads to this conclusion is irresistible. A bill of rights is certainly no less important for the District of Columbia and for the Territories than for that portion of the nation which is organized into States.

"If it were thought necessary that Congress should be hedged round with restrictions while it is legislating for the inhabitants of the States, who may be partially protected by their local government, how much more necessary that the same body should be restrained while legislating for the inhabitants of those districts and Territories over which it has an exclusive control and undivided sway. Now, it is to be remarked that the mandatory clauses of the first eight amendments—which constitute the national bill of rights—are clothed in the most general language; they make no exceptions; they apply to Congress in the exercise of all its functions; in general terms they cover its legislation for the District of Columbia and for the Territories as well as for the States. These clauses must, therefore, be compulsive upon Congress when it makes laws for the districts or for the Territories, unless the general language in which they are framed is controlled and modified by the particular language of the provisions which expressly relate to the District and to the Territories.

"These special provisions declare that Congress shall have power 'to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory' and 'to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such District.' There is evidently nothing contradictory between the first of these provisions and the general restrictions of the bill of rights. In the second, the phrase 'exclusive legislation' simply designates Congress as the only lawmaking body, without indicating what laws may be made. The words 'in all cases whatsoever' are the only ones which even appear to limit the general mandates of the first eight amendments; and here the contradiction is in appearance merely. The 'all cases whatsoever' must be construed to mean all cases in which any legislation is possible. In fact, this affirmative grant of general legislative power is limited by the same negative mandates which affect all the other affirmative grants to the National Government. Whatever laws may be passed—and any may be enacted that are not forbidden by the express or the implied negative restrictions of the Constitution—Congress is the sole body from which they must issue."—Pomeroy's Constitutional Law, section 492.

The pertinency of this branch of the discussion, as it strikes me, lies in this fact: The admission that all territory acquired must be organized into States at some time would at once put a stop to all ideas of expansion in the East, because who is there in this country that would accept for a moment the idea of admitting to an equality with us in our government the Orientals who inhabit and must continue to inhabit exclusively that country? With all the learning and refinement of which they are capable, we could not permit our destinies to be controlled by them in whole or part. If we take them, then we must

take them with the understanding that we hold them in a subordinate or vassal state. We could not safely accord to our own people held in such a state permanently the provisions of the Constitution in favor of personal liberty.

The privilege of habeas corpus, of trial by jury, of protection against unreasonable searches and seizures, of the right to speak and publish at pleasure, the protection of the ordinary processes of the law in time of peace, to say nothing of the other provisions in favor of private right, would make such government impossible. They would make it doubly impossible in the case of the wily, subtle, restless Oriental, unused to such liberty, devoid of reverence for law and authority, incapable of acquiring it, and driven on by his quick and resentful nature to excesses which would be impossible to the Anglo-Saxon or to any of the European races. Hence, in this new crusade, which has the domination of these races for its object, it is not only necessary to deny them political privileges, but also the private rights which we ourselves enjoy. But in the one case, as in the other, we run up against the rock of the Constitution, and that forms an impassable barrier to further progress.

To return now to my analysis of the Constitution. Not only are all its provisions made for freemen, but all of them, as I read them, presuppose ultimate equality of political right. Undoubtedly the provision for the admission of new States was intended to accomplish that. The power invested in Congress to "make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," if it referred to the making of laws for the government of Territories, and that I believe is the better view, is a part of the section providing for the

admission of new States into the Union, and must be construed in pari materia therewith, and held to mean, as if the idea had been plainly expressed, that such right of government was given pending the admission of the Territories to statehood.

It is significant that when the Constitution came to deal with the question of the permanent government of territory which never could become States, as it did in another place, its language was full and explicit, not only as to the character of power which might be exercised, but also as to the places over which it might be exercised. The seventeenth paragraph of section 8, Article I, provides that Congress shall have power—

"To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings."

We have here enumerated all the places which the founders of the Constitution had it in mind might be required to be permanently governed by the legislation of Congress. Can it be doubted that the word "colonies" would have been inserted in this connection if it had ever occurred to the great men who performed that work that the United States could ever own or possess or rule over colonies? Manifestly so, it seems to me.

Further, could the great men who formed the Constitution have been unmindful of the diverse situations and varying needs of a people subject to one government, but scattered over the four quarters of the globe, as must necessarily be the case with a mother country and her colonies? And if so, and if the possibility of colonies was ever contemplated, could they have been guilty of inserting the first clause of

section 8 of Article 1 in the Constitution? That clause provides:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

The Supreme Court of the United States, speaking through John Marshall, has said that this clause operates over all the Territories of the United States, whether organized into States or not, ex proprio vigore, and that under it no discrimination against, or exception in favor of, any Territory is possible. Yet it is manifestly unjust to lay protective taxes, duties, imposts and excises on distant colonies for the benefit of the mother country. No colony would long submit to it. None would submit so long as we did to similar exactions from the mother country. Yet we finally threw off the yoke, as any other colony would do, in the fullness of time, if subjected to such an injustice.

When we come to the contemporaneous construction the evidences are both full and satisfactory. Coincidently with the formation of the Constitution the Congress of the Confederation was considering the matter of the government of the Northwest Territory. Many members of the Constitutional Convention were also members of the Confederated Congress, and they passed back and forth between the two bodies as duty or inclination prompted them. On the 13th day of July, 1787, the Confederated Congress, the Constitutional Convention then being in session in the same city, passed the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory. It is a model of statecraft and organic legislation. It is printed in our book of Revised Statutes between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States,

and is entitled to rank with both of them. This ordinance was not formally readopted after the formation of the Constitution, but its existence and binding efficacy were expressly recognized in the legislation of the first Congress, that of 1789. This ordinance, after providing for the temporary government of the Northwest Territory, contains this provision:

"Sec. 13. And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said Territory; to provide, also, for the establishment of States and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the Federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest.

"Sec. 14. It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and the States in the said Territory, and forever remain unalterable unless by common consent."

Then follow the articles of compact, which embraced substantially all of the provisions of the Federal Constitution, either originally or as amended, for the security of civil and religious liberty, and then they go on to provide for the organization of the Territory into States as soon as fitted therefor. This shows what the fathers of the Republic, the authors of the Declaration of Independence, and the framers of the Federal Constitution thought was the proper thing to do with territory owned by the Government and not then organized into States. There is no hint here of colonies. There is not the most remote thought that any portion of the then domain of the Republic might be denied either civil, religious, or political liberty—civil and religious liberty immediately, and political liberty ultimately.

The Supreme Court of the United States pronounced this ordinance a solemn and binding compact between the original States and the people of the unorganized Territories, anterior to the Constitution

and unaffected by it. And its provisions, substantially, either by solemn enactment of Congress or by force of treaties made pursuant to the Constitution, have been extended over every foot of territory owned by us then or acquired by us since that time, containing a then present or prospective population, unless it be in the case of the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands. The Northwest Territory embraced the area now occupied by the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota. On May 26, 1790, the Congress of the United States extended the provisions of this celebrated ordinance over the territory of the United States south of the Ohio River. That territory embraced the area now occupied by the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and a part of Georgia.

On the 30th day of April, 1803, our Government completed the Louisiana purchase from the Republic of France. The territory thus acquired embraced the area now occupied by the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, all but the southwest corner of Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota west of the Mississippi River, Nebraska, Colorado east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the Arkansas River, the two Dakotas, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, most of Wyoming, and the present Indian Territory. The treaty with France by which this cession was made provided:

"The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess. (Article III, treaty of cession.)"

This treaty was made while Jefferson was President, while Mr. Madison was Secretary of State, was signed by Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe, and was ratified while many of the framers of the Constitution

were yet in public life. Mr. Jefferson may have doubted the constitutional power to purchase and acquire the territory, but neither he nor any of those associated with him appeared to have doubted both the duty and propriety, after the purchase was made, upon conferring on the inhabitants of added territory the ultimate right of participation in our Government.

The next new territory acquired was that of the Floridas, which was ceded to us by Spain by the treaty of Washington, dated February 22, 1819. The sixth article of that treaty provided:

"The inhabitants of the territories which His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States by this treaty shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States."

Next was the annexation of Texas, March 1, 1845. Texas was annexed and admitted into the Union by the same act, and of course no provision concerning the civil or political rights of the inhabitants was necessary.

Next was the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, dated February 2, 1848, by which we acquired from Mexico the area included in the States of California, Nevada, Utah, the greater part of Arizona, the greater part of New Mexico, Colorado west of the Rocky Mountains, and the southwestern part of Wyoming. This acquisition was supplemented by the Gadsden purchase from Mexico December 30, 1853, the territory thus purchased now constituting the southern part of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona. Article IX of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided:

"The Mexicans who, in the Territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the meantime shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty

and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction."

By Article V of the Gadsden treaty, the provisions of Article IX and the other articles of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were adopted as articles of the Gadsden treaty. So that up to the treaty with Russia, whereby we acquired Alaska, we have an unbroken line of action in which the acquisition of new territory was always accompanied with the contemporaneous purpose always expressed by statute or treaty to incorporate the newly acquired territory into the Union of States, and to accord the inhabitants thereof the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States. The only difference in phraseology in the Alaskan treaty is that in that treaty the provision for the incorporation of the territory into the Union was omitted, but the other substantive provisions of former treaties were retained. Article V of that treaty provided "that the inhabitants * * * shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States," etc.

I need not enlarge on the effect of long-continued legislative and executive construction of constitutional provisions. They are so persuasive, even on questions which the courts may determine, that unless palpably wrong the courts uniformly follow them. If the construction run back to the time of the framers of the Constitution, the persuasive effect is much increased. If it be continuous and relate to propositions involved in ambiguity, its effect is conclusive. Now, here we have a proposition which it may be claimed at best by those opposed to it is ambiguous on the face of the Constitution. But we have historical evidences prior to the adoption of the Constitution all pointing one way, and we have the practice of the Government, commencing at a time absolutely

coincident with the formation of the Constitution and continuing in one uniform and unbroken line down to the present time, in support of the historical evidences, and it seems to me that these must be convincing and conclusive. I should not consider the expression of one or more of the framers of the Constitution, in a private capacity and a long time after their word has been accomplished, however eminent they may have been, as militating seriously against such uniform, unbroken, and long-continued practice.

The right and power to be and exist as a nation, to treat with and make war on other nations, is certainly expressly conferred on the General Government, and the right to perform such functions of sovereignty and nationality as pertain to it in its dealings with other nations and which are not committed to other hands, such as the acquisition of territory, may certainly be implied as a necessary corollary of these major grants of right and power. And conceding this to be true, which I do in the fullest measure, how does the contention of the Senator that such power resides in the General Government, no matter what its source—and to that contention nearly all his argument and most of his authorities were directed—meet the proposition that there is a necessary implication in the Constitution against the exercise of that power for the purpose of establishing colonies which are never to be admitted to statehood?

I do not consider that the manifest necessity of the nation for limited possessions abroad, even if they be more or less extensively peopled, which are noted and excepted from the resolutions of the Senator from Missouri, militates against the declaration which the resolutions are intended to assert. I do not consider the acquisition of barren islands, valuable to our peo-

ple for mineral deposits or vegetable growths, or even of larger possessions which could never be extensively peopled, or, if so, only spasmodically or intermittently, as militating against that declaration. Every proposition must have its reasonable limitations. The arguments ab inconvenienti and reductio ad absurdum, which are always founded on such limitations, are insuperable obstacles in the path of the unthinking. But ordinarily they never stop the resolutions of wisdom, and they ought not to do so. They are not valid arguments unless they lead to conclusions which, making due allowances for the infirmity of all human prevision and foresight, show conclusively the falsity and impossibility of the proposition they are brought forward to combat.

The fathers may well have determined against the system of colonization and yet have contemplated the necessity for foreign acquisitions of limited extent and meager population for national purposes, which would always require to be governed by the legislation of Congress. I wish to say in this connection that I do not consider the Hawaiian Islands in this category, and did not so consider them at the time of their acquisition. While they are essential undoubtedly to the defensive power of the nation, they are yet capable of supporting a large Anglo-Saxon population and are sufficiently alluring to attract such a population. The native population is insignificant and fast disappearing. They are sufficiently near our shores to permit easy communication, and the same intimate trade relations that subsist among our own people will always prevail with them. These facts will assure to them at no distant day the political privileges of statehood, either as an independent State or by connection with one or the other of the great Pacific

coast States, which have already furnished so large a part of their present American population.

I am not a strict constructionist of the Constitution by any means. My training, such as it is, has all been in the other direction. I would give the nation every power which by any reasonable construction it may have and ought to have. I am the last man to limit its just powers by a strained construction. I am, I believe, a liberal nationalist. But there are bounds to my liberality. I draw the line at that vain and boastful spirit which seems to be abroad in the land, that we of this day and age and generation are entirely sufficient unto ourselves; that there are no problems which we can not solve unaided; that there is no danger which it is not cowardly and un-American for us to fear, and that reverence for the wise and prescient admonitions of the fathers, even when incorporated in the organic law of the land or when spoken in the great instrument which the organic law was framed to carry out, by which it is interpreted, and which it was formed to interpret, is contrary to the progressive spirit of this age and this people.

It is well enough to hug the pleasing thought that we are a great people and that there is no responsibility that can be thrust on us which we can not meet and face and accept with safety. That this is true all may well believe, else our fathers fought and wrought in vain, and we of this day are degenerate children. But it is the height of quixotism and is the reverse of the teachings of the fathers to go around in the world hunting responsibilities and courting dangers because we are able to meet them.

The American people are not lacking in the faith and the courage of the fathers. They have sometimes, however, for a brief period, been lacking in the wis-

dom of the fathers. But in every case the aberration has been temporary. When the excitement or passion or interest which led them astray has subsided or gone by, they have returned to that wisdom and conservatism, always tempered with faith and courage, which, like our free institutions, is the birthright they inherit from the fathers. I would therefore amend the invocation of the distinguished Senator, confident that it will not fall on dulled ears, and say, "Oh, for the courage and the faith and the wisdom of the fathers!"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OUR NEW COLONIAL POLICY.

BY HON. JOHN L. McLAURIN,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

The manifold and serious questions growing out of the war with Spain are now absorbing the attention of the American people.

As a Senator, representing, in part, the State of South Carolina, it is my duty to express my convictions in no uncertain terms upon a question so vitally affecting the interests of my State and the destiny of this nation. In this crisis every Senator must decide for himself; he is responsible to none save his State, his nation, and his God.

The experience of the South for the past thirty years with the negro race, is pregnant with lessons of wisdom for our guidance in the Philippines. It is passing strange that Senators who favored universal suffrage and the full enfranchisement of the negro should now advocate imperialism.

In other words, that territory can be acquired by conquest, held as a colony, and its inhabitants treated as vassals rather than citizens—governed by military rule or legislation not authorized by the Constitution. There is a glaring inconsistency in these positions. If they are sincere in their views as to the Philippines, they should propose an amendment to the Constitution which will put the inferior races in

this country and the inhabitants of the Philippines upon an equality as to their civil and political rights, and thus forever settle the vexed race and suffrage questions in this country as well as the outlying territories.

How can they consistently, justly, and, I might add, constitutionally, advocate a policy for outlying territories, embracing races so nearly akin to the negro, which differ so radically from the policy adopted as to that race in the South? There can be but one answer to that question, and that is that they substantially admit, in the light of a third of a century's experience, that universal suffrage is a monumental failure and that the time has come for the correction of this stupendous governmental error.

Prof. Thomas Miller, of South Carolina, a former Congressman and one of the most highly accomplished and able representatives of his race in America, in a recent speech delivered in South Carolina on the anniversary of Emancipation Day, said:

"Who is it that stands to-day in the United States Senate and warns negroes and white men of the South that right to vote is not a gift from the nation, but a matter left with each sovereign State to be regulated; that is to be given or taken away? Why, it is a man from New England, the great Republican Senator Platt. And why has this great change come over the North in relation to franchise? Why do they yield to this principle that has always been claimed by the South? This great New England Republican and august Senator from a sovereign State stands in the Senate Chamber and virtually admits that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are nugatory and of no effect."

Universal suffrage in the South long since degenerated into a race question, and as such led to the practical elimination of the negro from politics; a policy that is to-day wisely advocated by the great leaders of the race like Professor Miller and Booker Washington, and which in time, without outside interference, under the guidance of the best thought of both races, will lead to a just and mutually satisfactory settlement of the gravest problem that has ever

confronted any people in modern times. Conscious of rectitude of purpose and feeling that the negro was not responsible for the position into which he was thrust, the South, not defiantly, but by protestation, has patiently appealed to the nation to judge her righteously.

It is indeed comforting to hear some of those who in the past criticized us, now that the question is brought home, completely justify our methods in providing a scheme of colonial government.

It is contended by the Senator from Connecticut that this nation has an inherent right of sovereignty outside of the Constitution to acquire territory and govern it. In the Federal Constitution are enumerated the rights and powers delegated by the States to the Federal Government. In the State constitutions the people have delegated to the State governments all the rights and powers except those enumerated in the prohibitions of the instrument. Congress can therefore exercise only those powers for which there is a grant in the Federal Constitution, while State legislatures can exercise all powers except those prohibited in State constitutions. Hence, the United States as a nation has no reserved powers or inherent sovereignty, except such as may be delegated in the Constitution of the United States. Whatever there is of reserved rights or "inherent sovereignty" not delegated in the Federal Constitution remains in the people of the States. The nation, as a nation, has no sovereign rights except those conferred by the Constitution.

The sovereignty of the nation is the power given the nation by the Constitution. If there were to be any reserved powers of the nation outside of the Constitution, why the enumeration specifically of those

powers in the instrument itself? Why were they not reserved, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, in express terms?

It is true Pomeroy does say:

> "This nation possesses political sovereignty. There can be no nation without political sovereignty and no political sovereignty without a nation."

I understand, however, political sovereignty to mean the authority of a nation to exercise governmental powers. How are these powers to be exercised? In the case of the United States, in the manner provided by the Constitution, through the departments of the Government; and in being exercised by these departments it is limited by the terms of the Constitution fixing the manner of the exercise of sovereignty.

To hold that there is an inherent power of sovereignty in the nation, outside of the Constitution, to do something not authorized by that instrument, is to place this "inherent sovereignty" above the Constitution and thus destroy the very foundation upon which constitutional government rests. Judge Gray, in the Chinese-exclusion case, said:

> The United States are a sovereign and independent nation, and are invested by the Constitution with the entire control of international relations and with all the powers of government necessary to maintain that control and make it effective.

While holding that the United States are a sovereign and independent nation, it will be seen that he also holds that the sovereignty of the nation is vested by the Constitution; and if so, it can only be exercised in the mode pointed out in the Constitution and is controlled by the words of the grant of this sovereignty.

There was no nation of the United States until the adoption of the Federal Constitution; hence before that time there could be no sovereignty of the nation.

What conferred this sovereignty? Clearly the States, by and through the Federal Constitution. If so, then there can be no inherent right of sovereignty except that conferred by the Constitution.

The Senator further contends that we are a sovereign nation, and as such have the same inherent right to acquire territory as England, France, Germany, and Mexico. I controvert that proposition. The sovereignty of the nation of Great Britain and the others is vested in the people, and has never been delegated and limited as in our country. These Governments enjoy sovereignty in its elementary form. What the government wills it may do without considering the act or its consequences in the light of an organic law of binding obligation.

Our Government is in a very different position. The Federal Constitution is the embodiment of the sovereignty of the United States as a nation, and this sovereignty can only be exercised in accordance with the powers contained in its provisions. Great Britain can do anything as a nation in the way of the exercise of governmental functions. There is nothing to prohibit or restrict the fullest exercise of her sovereignty as a nation. Hence there is no analogy, and the sovereignty of the United States as a nation differs widely from that of Great Britain.

It is further contended that a sovereign right can not be limited and that all our Constitution can do is to prescribe the manner in which it can be exercised. If, as already shown, the sovereignty of the United States was conferred by the States through the Federal Constitution, it is clear that, in conferring the power and prescribing the manner of its exercise, they did set a limit in the very terms of the instrument itself.

I deny, therefore, that the United States as a nation has a sovereign, inherent right and control outside of the grant of such power in the Constitution. This is not an essential element of nationality so far as our nation is concerned, although it may be in England or Russia, where the nationality and sovereignty incident to it are not created and limited by a written constitution.

I do not, however, controvert the proposition that the United States have the power to acquire territory by conquest, purchase, or otherwise, and to govern same under the grant of power contained in the Constitution. I do, however, deny the proposition that territory can be acquired and permanently held as such by the United States, of course, subject to the exception of small tracts acquired for specific governmental purposes, like coaling stations and the guano islands under the act of 1856. I think Hawaii comes under the exception of a military and commercial necessity.

The Constitution only confers the power to annex conditioned upon the formation of States out of the new territory. Its subjection to Federal control is a temporary stage necessarily preceding the permanent condition of statehood. As Chief Justice Marshall said in Loughborough vs. Blake (5 Wheaton):

"Territories are in a state of infancy advancing to manhood, looking forward to complete equality as soon as that state of manhood shall be attained."

Chief Justice Taney said:

"The power to admit new States authorizes the acquisition of territory not fit for admission at the time, but to be admitted as soon as its population and situation would entitle it to admission."

The States ceded lands to the United States upon the understanding that it should be eventually formed into States. In the treaty of 1803, by which France ceded Louisiana, it is provided that:

"The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States as soon as possible according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the United States."

This article of the treaty was construed by Chief Justice Marshall to mean that Louisiana shall be admitted into the Union as soon as possible on an equal footing with the other States. The treaty of 1819, by which Spain ceded Florida, and of 1848 and 1853, by which Mexico ceded California and New Mexico, contained the same provisions as the treaty of 1803.

Thus it will be seen that all the vast domain acquired by the United States down to 1853 was in trust for the subsequent admission of States. Texas was acquired not as a Territory but annexed as a State. The treaty by which Alaska was acquired is an exception to the rule, no doubt based upon the assumption that it was a barren waste, whose climate and geographical position would render it uninhabitable for years to come.

The two clauses in the Constitution bearing directly upon the acquisition of territory are embraced in section 3, Article IV, and are as follows:

"New States shall be admitted by Congress into the Union—"

And—

"Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and property of the United States."

It will be observed that these two provisions are not only in juxtaposition but are also embraced in the same section and article of the Constitution. This coupling them together has some significance, and is evidence that in the minds of the framers of our organic law there was an intimate connection between acquiring territory and giving it statehood. Their connection entirely negatives the idea that any territory can be held as a colony or its people denied

a republican form of government. There is not a line or sentence in our Constitution that authorizes the United States to embark upon a colonial career. Our people fought for six years in the Revolutionary war against the colonial system of Europe, which was based upon monarchy. It is incredible that the men who fought in that war against the colonial system should have formed a government whose Constitution recognized and adopted the very oppressions against which they were battling. That they did not intend to do so is evidenced by the fact that Madison, in the Federalist, urged the adoption of the Constitution as a security and safeguard against this very thing.

The purpose of the Constitution was "to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity." These words indicate that the Government could never rule subject races or control territory not in the Union. Congress can only acquire and govern territory subject to the Constitution and laws of the United States. Were it otherwise, it would be to discredit and abandon representative government.

The Constitution and a long line of judicial decisions all show that the policy of this Government since its foundation is that we can not acquire a territory and hold it permanently as such; that statehood must be the ultimate object.

It may be determined in the declaration of war as in the case of Cuba. In that declaration we said that Cuba was not to be acquired, but, when free from the sovereignty of Spain, her people should be permitted to establish their own government. The real

question now before the American people is, Are we ready to swing loose from our constitutional moorings? Are we prepared to abandon the peaceful policies of the past century and drift amid the breakers that have beset for ages the dynasties of the Old World? Has the time come when we are willing to change our system of popular government and bring it into harmony with the monarchies of the Old World?

It is idle to speak of Americanizing a tropical country 8,000 miles away. Our people will never consent for the people of that far-off land to ever have a voice in the affairs of our country. Therefore, to govern them we must inaugurate a military or colonial system, utterly at variance with the principles of our Republic. But even if by a strained construction of the Constitution the power is vested in the United States to inaugurate a colonial system, I am utterly opposed, as a matter of policy, to the acquisition of any territory that can not be Americanized and brought into harmony with our institutions. I believe the time is not far off, and I gladly welcome its approach, when our flag will float over every foot of North American soil, but it must come naturally and peacefully, by the consent of the governed, not by the rude hand of war.

But when it comes to thrusting our rule upon 10,000,000 people on another continent by force of arms, I hold that such a policy is unwise, as well as at variance with the principles upon which our Government is founded. Taxation without representation is as much tyranny as when King George's tea was dumped into Boston Harbor. To govern the people of the Philippines without their consent, is as much government without the consent of the governed as

it was when we were under the rule of Great Britain.

Government by force is, and always will be, despotism. Can we afford to abandon the doctrine of self-government and establish anywhere a despotism? If so, then let us prepare for the burden of a large army and navy, heavy taxation, and the unrequited sacrifice of the young men of the nation. Hitherto our flag, wherever it has floated, has meant freedom and self-government, battle only for peace. But when raised over conquered territories, held as colonies, it will mean tyranny and misrule, battle for the sake of plunder. My sentiment is, may it never wave save to bring liberty and self-government to the down-trodden and oppressed of the earth; may it float untarnished and unchanged, save for the glory of new stars in its celestial field of blue; may all peoples continue to hail it as the emblem of a great Republic—the mountain peak of nations.

A colonial policy means entanglement with foreign nations. Lord Salisbury has said:

"The appearance of the American Republic among the factors of Asiatic and possibly European diplomacy is a grave and serious event, which may not conduce to the interests of peace, though I think in any event it is likely to conduce to the interests of Great Britain."

Imperialism means that we must beat our pruning hooks into spears and be ready to water distant lands and stain distant seas with a never-ceasing torrent of American blood. It means a never-ending strife with the nations of the world.

In a commercial point of view I believe the importance of the Philippines per se is greatly exaggerated. They are chiefly valuable as the key to the Orient, but we need not colonize to obtain that advantage. The exports of the Philippines, according to the statistical abstract, in 1896 amounted to $30,806,250. If this entire trade was monopolized by us it would be insig-

nificant. We will have to teach them to wear shirts and breeches before we can trade with them much. But England and Germany have large trade interests in the Philippines, and under our agreement with Spain she must have equal trade privileges with the United States. As a matter of dollars and cents I doubt its advantage.

Great Britain has in her colonies 16,662,973 square miles, containing 322,000,000 inhabitants, while the mother country has only 39,825,000 people and 120,979 square miles. The United States has no colonies, and yet our exports compare most favorably with those of Great Britain. Out of 10,000,000 natives in the Philippines 7,000,000 only are domesticated, and the other 3,000,000 are savages. The revenues to Spain in 1894-95 from the Philippines were $13,579,900 and her expenditures were $13,280,130. These revenues were derived from imports, Government monopolies, stamps, cock fighting, opium, gambling, lotteries, raffles, and Chinese capitation tax. The United States could not derive as much, as she could not license gambling, cock fighting, etc., and oppress the inhabitants as Spain has done.

Under our constitutional Government we can not compete with monarchies in colonizing and vassal ruling. We have not the machinery and can not get it without breaking up our system and building a new fabric out of the pieces. Republics have not been successful as rulers of colonies. Invariably when they have embarked in that career they have changed into monarchies or empires.

The supposed analogy between England and the United States is a fatal illusion.

"British institutions are founded," said Mr. Gladstone, "upon the doctrine of inequality." American

institutions are founded upon the doctrine of equality. A government of the people, by the people, and for the people is impregnable for defense, but impotent for conquest.

To become a colonizing power we must abandon our republican institutions, or be paralyzed by them.

Our Government, with its checks and balances and conservative divisions of power, is the best in the world for peace and the poorest for criminal aggressions. Great Britain is an oligarchy, not a republic. It is admiralty rather than democracy. Americans govern themselves, while Englishmen are ruled by their Government.

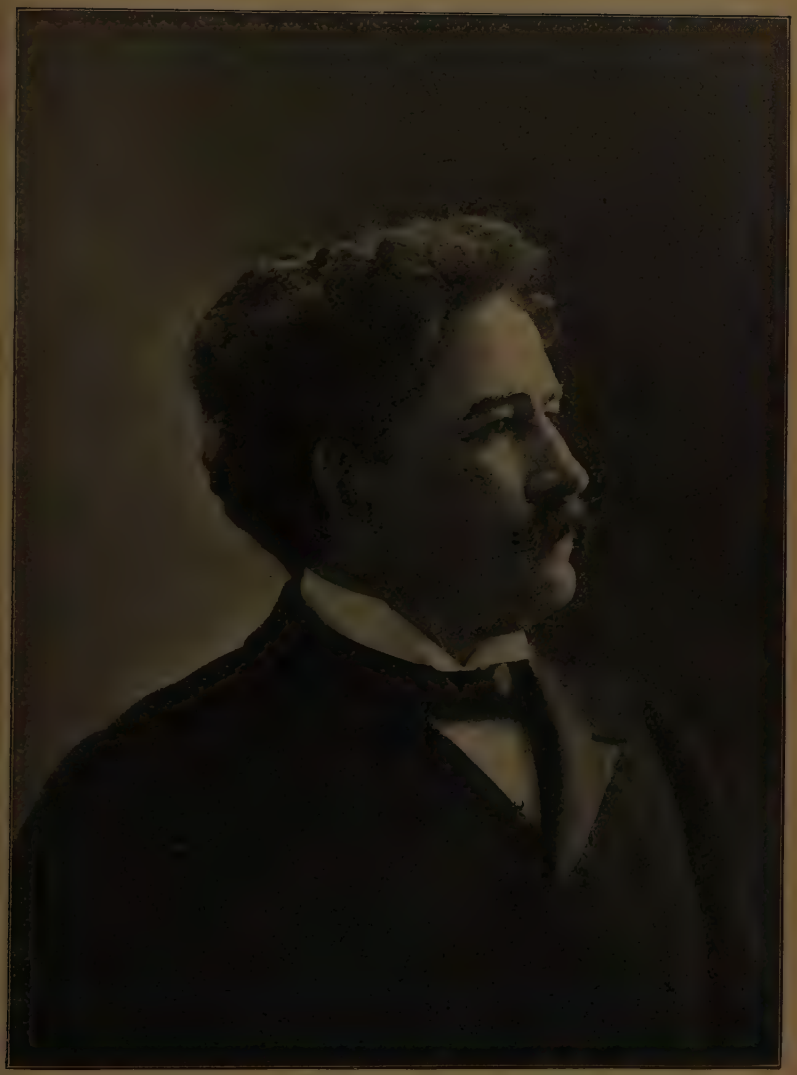
Then, England has a magnificent civil service at the foundation of her colonial empire, while our civil service is chameleon-like, elastic, and not much after all but a system of boss rule. We have no domestic surplus of men and deficit of work, as England has. Her small territory and immense population mark her necessity, while our immense territory, not yet fully peopled, marks ours. The natural decadence and inherent corruption of a colonial system is a danger to the life of the strongest monarchy.

Bismarck said:

"I do not want colonies at all for Germany. Their only use is to provide sinecures. This is all England and Spain get out of theirs. German colonies are like the silks and sables of the Polish nobleman who had no shirt to wear under them."

The creation of offices, the extravagant expenditure of money by officeholders, and the actual corruption creeping into any colonial system will sooner or later sap the foundation of any government.

Three and a half centuries ago, Charles V. boasted that the sun never set upon the dominions which Spain maintained by wars in Europe, Africa, America, and the islands of the sea. Where now is that mag-



John L. McLaurin

nificent empire? Gone; forever vanished! Not enough left to cast a shadow. England boasts to-day, as did Charles V., that the sun never sets upon the empire that, like Spain, she has maintained with unceasing wars. And like Spain she, too, in time may see a dismal wreck and ruin, wrought by the natural blight incident to colonial possessions.

Macaulay says:

"We venture to say that colonial empire has been one of the greatest curses to modern Europe. What nation has it ever strengthened? What nation has it ever enriched? What have been its fruits? Wars of frequent occurrence and enormous cost, fettered trade, lavish expenditure, clashing jurisdiction, competition in government, and indigence among the people."

Rome colonized in all parts of the habitable globe, and from the proud pinnacle of mistress of the world she has fallen into eternal decay and lives only in the pages of history. I believe that if we embark in a colonial career, unsuited as are our institutions to such a system—nay, with a form of government utterly antagonistic to the idea—that it is the first downward step along the path upon which so many nations have fallen. I believe it is the great rock upon which our republican institutions will finally be stranded. Senators need not call upon Providence and "manifest destiny." The most horrid crimes and foolish blunders of the ages have been committed under similar protestations.

Imperialism means self-building at the expense of others. Its roots are embedded in lust of power and insatiable greed. The trusts and money power, that now hold so many of our own people in financial bondage, are crying out for new fields to exploit. Other nations have built and developed, and then tried expansion as a remedy for domestic discontent. If you would know their history, read it in the gray

silence of Eastern lands, in the wreckage of once mighty empires.

"For the spider hath woven her web in the banqueting hall of kings, and the owl keepeth her night watch in the towers of Afrasiab."

It does seem to me that the rent garments and whitened bones of other nations who have tried that way and found their death should hold some warning for us.

An insuperable objection to the Philippines is the difficulty of governing, 8,000 miles away, a people just removed from barbarians and mongrel in race, religion, and character. A protectorate over them, I predict, will give us more trouble than all the domestic problems now confronting us.

There are three fundamental principles upon which this Government is founded:

1. Citizenship, universal and coextensive with the country.

2. Local self-government.

3. Freedom to travel, to labor, and to engage in business in any part of the country.

How are these principles to be maintained by the United States in colonies? Are these mixed races from the Orient, against some of whom we have passed exclusion laws, to have all the rights of citizenship conferred upon them? Shall they have a voice in the Government of this country, corresponding to the voice that we have in the government of theirs? Or is the right of suffrage to be given them to placate the spirit of the Constitution, while by some legerdemain they are denied its practical fruits?

Of one thing I am sure—the American people will never consent for these inferior races to flood our land and add another complication to the labor problem. To permit cheap Asiatic labor to come into

competition with our intelligent, well-paid labor will be to degrade and lower our civilization. Already in Illinois negroes from Alabama have been shot and driven from the State, and such action defended by the Governor.

Again, will Americans ever consent to live in the Philippines and aid in the development of its natural resources and the evolution of barbarians into the light and liberty of civilization? Inhabitancy is one of the conditions to success in colonizing. Seneca said of the Romans, "Wherever the Roman conquers he inhabits." The partial failure of England in India is mainly attributable to the impossibility of getting Englishmen to inhabit the country. Her rule of a century in India has not materially changed the habits or customs of the people. England has conquered India, but her influence would disappear when her dominion as a ruler ended.

I suppose that I might be called a moderate expansionist, but it seems to me that the United States can well be content with the territory of North America without reaching out to the uttermost parts of the earth to embrace a people so different from us in race, religion, and civilization, and who will never be able to appreciate or understand our institutions. It looks to me as if some of our public men had gone wild on this question of expansion.

Here we stand to-day with great issues of financial reform, labor and trusts questions all sidetracked; the whole business of the nation suddenly become artificial; our people called upon to abandon the safe treadmill of domestic concerns for new fields, new thoughts, and fresh hopes, that can not but prove illusive. It is wiser and better to look after domestic politics first, and not avoid grave questions at home

in order to join in the international game of land grabbing.

If we embark in a colonial system, it means the inauguration of a despotic power in Washington. It means a large standing army that will not only be used to rule outlying territories with an iron hand, but that, sooner or later, will be used at home to overawe and override the popular will. An imperialistic democracy, like an atheistic religion, is an impossible hybrid.

The hand of God may have been in the war with Spain, but I do not feel that it is in obedience to the Divine will that we are pursuing a career of conquest in the Philippines. Conquest has never been the handmaid of our civilization or the Christian religion; their triumphs rest upon a foundation of peace. The sword established the religion of Mohammed, but it will never spread and maintain the religion of Jesus Christ. I am in favor of the United States continuing as a peaceful Republic, not a conquering empire. We should not become entangled in the rivalries of European kingdoms, but be content with the banishment of European tyranny from this hemisphere. I would not sell the principles upon which our Republic is founded for a mess of pottage in the Philippines.

Why should we run after "strange gods?" Let this Government move along in the same orbit that has transformed a few scattered colonies into a great nation, and fanned a feeble spark into a beacon light among the nations of the earth.

Better than wealth, better than "a territory upon which the sun never sets," is the transmission to our children of a Republic built upon the indestructible rock of constitutional government.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EXCESSIVE TAXATION DESTRUCTIVE TO PATRIOTISM.

BY HON. ALEXANDER S. CLAY,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM GEORGIA.

The resolution passed at the last session of Congress declaring war against Spain declared expressly that the United States disclaimed any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island of Cuba, except for the pacification thereof, and asserted its determination, when that was accomplished, to leave the government and control to the people thereof. If it had been declared that it was the purpose of the war to conquer, acquire, and annex the Philippine Islands to the United States, I do not believe the proposition would have received a half dozen votes in the Senate. If it had been known that the war would result in the acquisition and annexation of the Philippine Islands to the United States and their permanent retention by us, I do not believe that the resolution declaring war against Spain would ever have received a majority of the votes of the Senate.

The President in his message to Congress said:

"As soon as we are in possession of Cuba and have pacified the island, it will be necessary to give aid and direction to its people to form a government for themselves. This should be undertaken at the earliest moment consistent with safety and assured success. It is important that our relations with this people shall be of the most friendly character and our commercial relations close and reciprocal. It should be our duty to assist in every proper way to build up the waste places of the island, encourage the industry of the people, and assist them to form a government which shall be free and independent, thus realizing the best aspirations of the Cuban people."

These patriotic utterances of the Chief Magistrate of the nation commend themselves to the intelligent and thoughtful people of America. I shall have occasion to refer to them again before I close this argument, and I shall take the position that if they are applicable to Cuba, then why are they not applicable to the Philippines? In my judgment, if this part of the message is put in operation by appropriate legislation, the honor and good faith of the United States will be fully carried out, and in less than a half dozen years Cuba will ask to be annexed to the United States, and at no distant day, when the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico have acquired sufficient population, and have otherwise qualified themselves for statehood, they will ask to be admitted as States in this Union of States. They belong to the Western Hemisphere; nature has in all probability intended them to be a part of this country, and if they come freely and willingly and ask for annexation I am not prepared to say they ought to be rejected.

Let us see what we are to get by the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, and what are the responsibilities we assume by such acquisition and what are the consequences likely to follow. These islands, 1,200 in number, are out in the ocean, near China, on the other side of the world. It is more than 7,000 miles from Manila to the nearest point of land of the United States. In order to reach these islands from our eastern coast you must travel by water nearly 14,000 miles. They are located in the tropics, in a climate unsuited to the Anglo-Saxon race, and are populated by about 8,000,000 people totally unacquainted with and unsuited to our form of government. There is no hope of American communities being built up in this territory capable of statehood.

The history of the past demonstrates that our race can not thrive and prosper in the tropics. The area of these islands is about twice as large as my own State. This population is composed of Spaniards, half-castes, Chinese, Malays, and Japanese. Of the total population, Europeans and Americans compose less than 2 per cent. The English, Germans, French, and Americans, knowing the climatic conditions of the country, have never sought homes among the Filipinos. Now, why do we want such a population, situated at such great distance from us, and why do we want to become responsible for their future government, when such responsibility is almost sure to involve us in future wars with foreign governments?

It has been the policy of this Government to be on friendly terms with all nations, but to form entangling alliances with none. Our phenomenal growth as a Republic can be attributed largely to the fact that we have avoided foreign wars, and only a small per cent of our citizens have been taken from the pursuits of peaceful and productive occupations to engage in military life. If we undertake to cross the ocean and to establish colonies, we will be driven to an alliance with England, Russia, Japan, or some other foreign power in order to hold and defend our newly acquired possessions. What would such an alliance mean? If with England, and she engaged in war with Germany, France, or any other power, then our fleets and our soldiers must cross the ocean and help fight England's battles. If the alliance should be with Japan or any other foreign power, the result would be the same.

The senior Senator from Minnesota hopes to see the day come when an alliance will be formed between

our Government, England, and Japan. I have great respect for the judgment of the Senator. I always consider with great deliberation a statement or proposition coming from such an eminent source, but I can not give my assent to such a proposition. Such an alliance would be against the teachings of the "Father of our country" and against the spirit and genius of our Government. We do not want to become complicated in the far East. We want no complications or war with England, France, Germany, Russia, China, Japan, or any other foreign power. We want to continue our friendly commercial relations with all of them. We want no territory or population liable and likely to involve us in complications which may lead to war with any of these powers.

We learn now hostilities are threatened between France and China. Less than five years ago Japan was engaged in a war with China. The danger of frequent and almost constant wars between foreign nations in the far East, which always bring ruin and disaster, should be a warning against the acquisition of this foreign territory and population. Why do we want to invite a condition of affairs that will take a hundred thousand of our citizens from peaceful pursuits and transfer them to military life, to be shot down in defense of Malays? In the language of Mr. Carnegie, "Why do we wish to enter the far East, a mine of dynamite, always liable to explode?"

Another reason why I oppose the annexation and permanent retention of the Philippines I will now state briefly. It is not disputed that at the time we engaged in war with Spain for the liberation of Cuba the inhabitants of the Philippines were in a state of rebellion against Spain and struggling for their independence. They had rebelled against the powers of

Spain, had organized an army, and were struggling to throw off Spanish supremacy, achieve their independence, and establish a government of their own choosing. Through the instrumentality of the United States army and navy Spanish authority on those islands has ended. Why did the inhabitants of the Philippines rebel against Spain? For the same reason the Cubans were fighting for self-government.

Since Spanish rule has ceased to exist in those islands we possess unmistakable evidence that the entire population, consisting of nearly 9,000,000 people, will be as hostile to any government that we may establish denying them the right of self-government as they were against the Government of Spain.

Did you ever contemplate what a serious and difficult task it is to rule and govern eight or nine millions of people against their will, when this people were ready to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives for independence and self-government, especially when our ships and soldiers must travel from seven to fourteen thousand miles from our eastern and western coast across the ocean to fight our battles on the native land of the insurgents?

Men fight with desperation for home, wife, and children and native land. This people, burning with a desire for liberty and independence, and feeling that they had been relieved of one oppressor and expecting the dawn of a new era, an era which would mark the beginning of their freedom and independence, would at last realize that they were still to have a master and be deprived of the privilege of self-government. In all probability they would raise an army of more than a hundred thousand soldiers to resist the Government of the United States, to defend their homes, to

retain their property and establish their independence.

When we send our brave sons across the ocean to wage war of extermination against these people, what excuse could we give the civilized world for our action? The only excuse we could offer for such a course would be that we waged war against Spain, came out victorious, acquired this territory by conquest, and were now proceeding to take from the natives their islands and deprive them of independence and self-government. What an anomalous position ours would be! We waged war against Spain and drove the Spanish army from Cuban soil and its navy from Cuban waters to give to the Cubans the right of self-government, when now we send our soldiers with muskets and bayonets to the Philippine Islands to wage war against these people who seek the same liberty and the right of self-government the Cubans sought.

Such inconsistency is without a parallel in the history of nations. By such action we say to the world we fought this war to exterminate Spanish rule and oppression in Cuba and to establish a stable government there, a government of their own choosing, and to exterminate Spanish rule in the Philippines and to establish in lieu of Spanish authority a government of the United States against the desire and wishes of those to be governed. Is it possible that we have arrived at that period in the history of this nation that we are willing to forcibly annex 9,000,000 people and 114,000 square miles of territory to our Government and to prescribe rules and regulations for the government of such people against their will and consent when they are struggling for independence and are ready to shed their blood for the right of self-govern-

ment? If we are guilty of such conduct I fail to see how the future historian of our beloved country can complain of British oppression against the American colonies.

Another strong argument to my mind against the annexation, which may lead to war, is the disadvantages under which we labor when engaged in war with a nation on the other side of the ocean. This was fully illustrated in the war between England and the American colonies. When our fathers met and established the Declaration of Independence, which separated the colonies from the mother country, our entire population consisted of less than 3,000,000 people, about one-third the population of the Philippine Islands. England was a great, strong, and powerful nation, but in the contest she went down before the arms of the infant Republic. We were engaged in the holy and righteous cause of liberty, and were fighting for home and native land. England had to send her ships, soldiers, and supplies across the ocean to American soil to conquer the new-born Republic.

These disadvantages and our righteous cause gave the victory to American arms and American valor. When we began war with Spain for the liberation of Cuba, Spain labored under similar disadvantages. She had to sail across the ocean with her fleet and army to defend her American possessions located within eighty miles of our coast. No sensible man for a minute thought Spain could defend either Cuba or Porto Rico against American arms. But when we wage war against the Philippine Islands the situation is just reversed. We must leave home and native land and fight our battles in the East and engage in war with nations unfriendly to our form of government.

Another argument to my mind against the acquisition of these islands is this: If there be any lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this, that free nations can not govern subject provinces. Even monarchies engaged in the colonial business have not found it profitable in extending their colonial possessions, which have often involved them in expensive and cruel wars. Such a colonial policy was responsible for the Revolutionary war between England and America. The bitter and unrelenting hatred that long existed between England and Ireland is another illustration of the folly of such government. No nation on the earth engaged more extensively in the colonial business than did Spain. Where are her innumerable American possessions? She has not only given up her South American possessions, but she has been driven from the Western Hemisphere and has bankrupted her treasury in defending her colonial possessions.

History teaches us that the early Romans possessed the faculty of self-government beyond any people of whom we have any historical knowledge, with the exception of the American people, and their liberties perished when Rome became mistress of ignorant, barbarous, conquered races unsuited to her free institutions, to whom she was unable or unwilling to extend all the privileges which her own citizens enjoyed. This Government is founded upon the virtue and intelligence of our people. We have triumphed by reason of our wisdom and superior knowledge. It has been said that our system of education, open to every child, our churches, planting the seeds of Christianity everywhere, our public press, reaching into every hamlet, are the instruments and agencies which

have enabled our people to plant, enjoy, and perpetuate our free institutions.

Under our system of government all power is lodged with the people. Destroy the intelligence and patriotism of the masses and you destroy our Government. Who doubts the end of our Republic when public sentiment is dominated by an ignorant and debauched population, especially a population composed of inferior races that have always been under the influence and domination of monarchical government? It is true that Germany, France, Russia, and Great Britain have embarked in a colonial policy, but there is no comparison between the Governments of those countries and ours. Any government that roams the world over in pursuit of foreign territory on which to plant and govern colonies, as England governs India, or as Rome governed her provinces, must necessarily maintain a large and expensive standing army. When colonies rebel on account of oppression and misrule, soldiers are needed to keep them in subjection and to crush out and to destroy every aspiration for liberty and self-government. As an illustration to sustain this argument, look at the armies of Europe. Germany maintains a standing army of 591,715 soldiers; France, 561,848; Russia, 761,400; Great Britain, 211,532; United States, 27,632.

Think of it, at the time we declared war against Spain the United States supported a standing army of only 27,000 men. We had a population of 75,000,000 people, more than seventy billions of wealth, and three and a half million square miles of territory. Where in the history of the world will you find another nation that has been able to defend itself against internal dissensions and foreign enemies with only 1

person out of every 3,000 of its population in the military service? No wonder the growth of this nation has challenged the admiration of the world. We have adhered to the teachings of our fathers and avoided complications and entangling alliances with other governments. Instead of maintaining a large standing army, we have taught our citizens that it was the mission of our Government to guarantee to every American citizen life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We have taught our citizens in the Declaration of Indepenence that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights and derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Under our system of government we have maintained the friendship of all nations, and our citizens have been permitted to engage in industrial pursuits instead of wasting our energies and resources in unprofitable wars.

What shall we do with the Philippine Islands? They have been left upon our hands as a result of the war. We did not need them, we did not want them, but we are forced to deal with them anyway. However we may desire to extricate ourselves from this responsibility, we can not escape it. We must either give them back to Spain, sell them to some other government, keep them and govern them ourselves against their consent, or aid and direct the population of those islands to form a government for themselves. For one I am unalterably opposed to the proposition to return them to Spain. Such a course would justly meet with the condemnation of the civilized world. I am equally opposed to the proposition to sell them to some other country. For the reasons stated in my argument, I can never give my assent to the proposition to annex these islands

to our Government and permanently retain them against their consent.

There is but one proposition left, but one course for me to pursue, but one line of policy for which I am willing to cast my vote. The President in his message said:

"I do not discuss at this time the government or the future of the new possessions which will come to us as the result of the war with Spain. Such discussion will be appropriate after the treaty of peace shall be ratified. In the meantime, until Congress has legislated otherwise, it will be my duty to continue the military government which has existed since our occupation."

The President, however, did make an exception to Cuba, and he declared in no uncertain tones that it was our duty to assist the Cuban people to form a government which shall be free and independent, thus realizing the best aspirations of the Cuban people. He declared that Spanish rule must be replaced by a just, benevolent, and humane government created by the people of Cuba, capable of performing all international obligations, and which shall encourage thrift, industry, and prosperity, and promote peace and good will among all the inhabitants, whatever may have been their relations in the past. He furthermore declared, until there is complete tranquillity in the island and a stable government inaugurated, military occupation shall be continued.

The message is silent as to the government we shall give to the people of the Philippine Islands. If the friends of expansion will replace Spanish rule by a just, benevolent, and humane government, created by the people of the Philippine Islands, capable of performing all international obligations, and which shall encourage thrift, industry, and prosperity, and promote peace and good will among all the inhabitants, then we will have reached a happy solution of this troublesome question. Why should we declare,

before the ratification of the peace treaty, that the people of Cuba shall have a just, humane and benevolent government created by themselves, and deny this God-given right to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands? Why should we declare our purpose to give aid and direction to the people of Cuba to form a government for themselves and deny this same blessed privilege to the Filipinos? Why should we say to the people of Cuba that military occupation by our Government on the island shall cease so soon as a stable government is formed by the people of Cuba, and deny the same privilege to the population of the Philippine Islands? Why can we speak out in no uncertain tones, before the ratification of the peace treaty, as to the disposition of the Island of Cuba, and why should we remain silent as to the policy of our Government in dealing with 8,000,000 people on the Philippine Islands? If it be wise and statesmanlike to outline our policy as to Cuba before the adoption of the peace treaty, what reason or logic can the friends of expansion give for silence as to the policy of our Government in dealing with our other territorial acquisitions?

The friends of expansion say that the population of the Philippine Islands are incapable of self-government. From the best information I have been able to obtain they are much more capable of self-government than the people of Cuba; and we propose to aid and assist the people of Cuba in forming a just and stable government for themselves. I hold in my hand a book called "Military Notes on the Philippines," gotten out by the War Department, fully, and I trust accurately, describing the population of those islands. I find language on page 21 of this book bearing out that part of my argument going to show this people

A. S. Clay

capable of self-government, and I insert same as a part of my remarks:

"The Philippine Malays are a superior race to many other Asiatic peoples; orderly, amiable, courteous, honest, and exceedingly superstitious, they are easily influenced upon profession of Christianity. Like most tropical people, their efforts are intermittent rather than steady; their wants are readily provided for, and they take life easily. The inhabitants of the islands are composed of the most diverse mixture of races, including Malays, Aetas, Negritos, pure blacks, Chinese, Japanese, Indios, Moors, Europeans, and mixture of each with the others. There are as many different tribes as there are islands, and it is said that 500 languages and dialects are spoken in the islands at the present day.

"The inhabitants are generally tractable and amenable to government and generally not hostile to foreigners. In the inaccessible parts of the islands there are still tribes of unsubdued savages, whose number is estimated at about 602,000. Fond of music, dancing, and amusements of all kinds, they are born gamblers, and cock-fighting is their greatest passion. Every town has its cock-pit, and in the largest the spectators may be numbered by the thousands. This amusement is heavily taxed by the Spaniards, and advantage is taken of their taste for gambling by running a lottery for the benefit of the Government. Probably not more than fifteen or twenty thousand Spaniards or people of pure Spanish blood are permanent residents, and the number of other foreigners is not large. The majority of these are at Manila, where the English have established a club in the suburbs, which has become the center of foreign social intercourse. Without doubt, the most primitive of the Philippine people are the Aetas, or Negritos, a race of blacks of almost dwarfish stature. They are believed to be, and with good reason, the true aborigines of the islands, who even at the time of the earliest Spanish conquest had begun to go to the wall under the fierce struggle for existence with the encroaching Malay tribes. At present they are well-nigh extinct and promise to become entirely so. These people are confined to the higher mountain ranges in Luzon and Negros although a few are found in Mindanao."

We learn through the public press that General Aguinaldo, through his representatives, has filed with the Department of State a memorandum setting forth the claims of the Filipinos to independence and self-government. I hold in my hand a summary of the arguments said to have been advanced in that memorandum in favor of independence. If that document be correctly reported, it contains the highest evidence that the leaders of those people are fully capable of forming and putting in operation a government of their own. I ask that this document be inserted as a part of my remarks. A summary of that argument is as follows:

"American precepts and examples have influenced my people to desire independent government.

"Suffering, as did the Americans, from alien rule, they rose and drove out foreign masters.

"They established and for seven months have maintained a form of government resembling the American in that it is based upon the right of the people to rule.

"This government has, according to doctrines laid down by distinguished American Secretaries of State, become entitled to recognition by the American Republic.

"The expelled Government of Spain, having at the time of the signing of the treaty of peace possession of only one part, and the remainder of the Philippines, except Manila, being in the possession of the Philippine republic, and all insignia of sovereignty having passed from Spain, that country could give no title to the United States to the Philippine Islands.

"Spain having no title to give, her claim can not be rendered better by the ratification of the treaty of peace.

"From the foregoing it would seem to follow that the present recognition of the first republic of Asia by the greatest Republic of America would be cognizant of right, justice, and precedent.

"I can not close this memorandum without taking occasion to assure you of the gratitude felt by my countrymen toward the Americans for the assistance rendered them in the attainment of their liberty and of their strong desire in every way, less than their effacement as a nation, to give practical expression to this gratitude, and further to hope that as self-respecting nations the bonds of friendship between the two may grow stronger with the passing of years."

I do not pretend to say that these people are as capable of self-government as the Americans, and where will you find a population that will compare with ours? Where will you find a population capable of putting in operation such a system of government as we enjoy? They are capable of putting in operation a government suitable to their taste, surroundings, and conditions, and one that will bring to them much more happiness and satisfaction than a government established by a foreign power against their will. It is not the mission of this Government to go among the nations of the earth and force the principles of our Government on others against their will and consent simply because we may possess more virtue and intelligence than those whom we seek to force to accept our theory of government.

A government of the unlearned and the uncivilized may be simple in its operation, but heretofore such governments have met the wants of a primitive people. The Indians had a government that met their wants and immediate demands before the English-speaking people ever saw the Western Hemisphere.

So did the Britons before Roman invasion. God in His wisdom has never yet created a people that were not capable of sustaining some form of government. Trace the history of the world since God placed Adam in the Garden of Eden, and there has never been a time or a race of human beings that did not put in operation and sustain some form of government. Often these governments have been simple in form, but they have met the wants of a less advanced and cultivated people. A government framed and fashioned after the style of the one established by our fathers might not be suitable to such times and conditions.

My solution of the Philippine question is simply this: Let Congress say that whereas Spanish rule has ceased to exist in the Philippine Islands, that Spanish authority must be replaced by a just, benevolent, and humane government, created by the people of those islands, capable of performing international obligations and of promoting peace and good will among all of the inhabitants. Let us declare that it is our purpose to give aid and direction to the people of those islands to form such a government for themselves. Then it will not be necessary to spend one hundred and fifty millions annually to maintain a large standing army.

Where are we drifting? I see that General Wood has asked Congress for an army of 50,000 soldiers to keep order in Cuba. I send to the Clerk's desk a synopsis of the statement he made before the Military Committee of the House.

"WILL NEED FIFTY THOUSAND MEN.

"GENERAL WOOD'S ESTIMATE OF THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION FOR CUBA.

"Gen. Leonard Wood, military commander of the Department of Santiago, was before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs

yesterday. He gave a detailed account of his operations in the province and in the city of Santiago, and also gave his estimate of the military force necessary to maintain order in the islands.

"On the latter point he expressed the opinion that for some time the 7,500 men now in Santiago province should be continued, but that after a time 5,000 would be sufficient for the service. He considered, however, that a military force would be necessary to the maintenance of order for some years, and said it should be sufficient to check effectually and quickly any trouble before it could gain headway. This remark applied to the island as a whole, and he thought as many as 50,000 troops should be stationed throughout Cuba.

"With proper precaution and tact he did not anticipate trouble, and he believed that the insurgent forces would rapidly disintegrate in all parts of the island. Santiago had been a great stronghold of the Cuban insurgents under Garcia, but they had now practically disbanded. Outlining his mode of governing the province, he said he had made no appointments to office except upon the recommendations of Cubans, and that he had in all cases put them upon their honor in making such recommendations.

"He had shown absolute trust in them in all matters, going among them always unarmed, and leaving the books of the administration always open to their inspection. He had Cubans in all departments, and his private secretary had at one time been a member of Gomez's staff. Thus, they always knew how their money had been expended, and knew just what he was doing as their governor."

I ask again where are we drifting? If it takes an army of 50,000 soldiers to maintain a stable government in Cuba, where we grant to them the right of self-government, what kind of an army will it take to put in operation a government by force against the consent of 9,000,000 people on the Philippine Islands? Fifty thousand soldiers to keep order in Cuba with a population of a million of inhabitants! At the same ratio it would require 400,000 soldiers to govern the Philippine Islands as an American province.

The annual expenses of the army previous to the late war ranged from twenty to twenty-four million dollars. The expenses of the army for 1900 are estimated at $144,500,000, an increase of a hundred and twenty millions. The annual increase and the expenses of the navy are estimated at $15,000,000. The increase of pensions is estimated at about four millions. In my judgment, the acquisition and retention of the Philippine Islands means an army of 150,000 soldiers. It means the annual expenses of the army will increase from twenty to two hundred million

dollars. A large standing army means that the pension list will increase from five to ten millions anually. Then let us consider the dangers of disease to which our soldiers will be necessarily exposed when located in the tropics. The death rate in such a climate would be at least 200 per cent greater than in our own country.

It will never do to be governed by the advice of our war generals as to the size of our standing army or as to the territory we should acquire. I make no reflection on them, but many of them are wild and extravagant on these two subjects. Let us remove the cause for irritation between our Government and the Filipinos by declaring that we will not attempt to govern them against their will. Then we will not need a standing army to force a government on them. Then the most amicable relations will be established between the people of those islands and our Government. They will owe to us a debt of lasting gratitude, and commercial relations based on such friendship will be much more profitable and advantageous than those based on war.

Let us profit by the lesson which history teaches us. We know that when Rome became mistress of the provinces to which she was unable to extend her own liberties the days of her self-government were numbered. We know that history teaches us that a homogeneous and vigorous people may manage their own affairs under a popular constitution so long as their personal characters remain undegenerate. Congress may pass laws and administer them as public sentiment approves, but Congress can only successfully legislate for such people as are directly represented therein. Imperial acquisitions and imperial aspirations draw necessarily after them a desire for imperial

rule. If we would perpetuate our free institutions and maintain forever popular government, let us cling with undying tenacity to the great truths taught by the founders of our Government, that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation upon such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

CHAPTER XXX.

IMPERIAL SPLENDOR AND IMPERIAL MISTAKES.

BY HON. HENRY U. JOHNSON,

REPRESENTATIVE OF CONGRESS FROM SIXTH DISTRICT OF INDIANA.

A few evenings ago the Home Market Club, of Boston, Mass., gave a banquet, at which the President of the United States was the principal guest. Judging from the newspaper accounts of the affair, it was an exceedingly elaborate one in all of its details. We are told that the number of plates laid at the table was largely in excess of that usually laid at such entertainments and that the hall was decorated with great profusion, the table at which the Chief Executive sat in particular being loaded down with rare and fragrant flowers. It appears, too, that sweetest music lent its charms to the occasion; that an ode to the President was sung by the banqueters to the tune of "America," and that a vast concourse of people looked down from the galleries upon the festal board.

The Secretary of War was in attendance, he whom the Boston populace had hissed upon the street a few hours before, ere they turned to greet with rapturous applause the chief who had bestowed upon him his official character. We can hardly blame them though for this, for they were only following the precedent set them by some of the leading Republican newspapers of the country, which, for months past, have been fiercely attacking the Secretary, and yet have lacked the courage to lay their ax to the root of the

evil and censure the gentleman who, to reward him for his political services and disbursements in the campaign of 1896, appointed him to his present position, and has maintained him there ever since, notwithstanding his incompetency and against the righteous complaints that have been made against him.

The Secretary of the Navy also graced the occasion with his presence, and so far forgot his usual courtesy, so far belied his New England training and associations, as to repeat the stale and untruthful charge that those who opposed the ratification of the infamous treaty of peace with Spain were responsible for the bloodshed that occurred in the Philippines.

When the Chief Magistrate had ceased speaking, another member of his official family, the gentleman who presides over the Post-Office Department, arose in his place and proceeded to load his chief down with an eulogy so fulsome and extravagant, so absolutely given over to hyperbole, that no individual not wholly eaten up with vanity could possibly have endured it without nausea and disgust.

The newspapers further inform us that among the decorations there were suspended over the entrance to the banquet hall three portraits, one of Washington, one of Lincoln, and one of the President himself, and that beneath these was inscribed in letters so bold and plain that even a blind man could read it with ease the single, significant word, "Liberators."

Now, George Washington fought with his sword for eight long and bloody years to establish the right of a people to govern themselves, and in his farewell address he counseled his countrymen to live on terms of amity with all nations and to enter into entangling alliances with none.

Abraham Lincoln's whole political life, God bless his memory, was a contention for the rights of man; and

it was his kindly hand which penned the immortal emancipation proclamation that struck the shackles from the limbs of millions of bondmen. One would think, sir, that the gentleman who was just then, as the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, engaged in the prosecution of a bloody war against a poor and defenseless people in the Orient, with a view to forcing upon them a government against their will, who was employed in the unsavory task of Christianizing them with the sword and civilizing them at the mouths of cannon, would naturally have felt some little embarrassment as he gazed upon these portraits and read the significant inscription below.

Possibly His Excellency did not see them. He may have turned his back upon them just as he has turned his back upon the Declaration of Independence and upon the cardinal principles of liberty, upon which the Republican party was founded forty-three years ago. If he did see them, possibly there may have passed through his mind the faintest suspicion as to the bona fides of the hospitality extended to him. He may even have caught a transient glimpse of the satire which hung these three pictures in juxtaposition and wrote that word of bitter irony beneath. Be this as it may, the President does not appear to have been at all abashed by this incongruous circumstance, but to have arisen from his seat and there, within the shadow of the monument on Bunker Hill, where Warren fell fighting for liberty, and within a stone's throw of Faneuil Hall, where time and again the true sons of the old Bay State have sent forth to the country their messages of freedom, he delivered perhaps the most remarkable, certainly the most disingenuous, address that ever fell from the lips of an American President.

This address, together with certain prefatory matter and a synopsis of the remarks of the Secretary of the

Navy and of the Postmaster-General as they were published in the Washington Post of this city, I shall take the liberty of incorporating into the Record along with my remarks.

The address, divested of its verbiage, considered apart from its platitudes and the ostentatious professions of virtue with which it was interlarded, was nothing more nor less than a carefully devised and studious misstatement of the issue between the Chief Executive and those of his own party who are opposed to his wretched policy in the Philippines. It was an effort to befog the subject and to mislead the public judgment We are told, sir, that this speech was received with enthusiastic applause by those who heard it, but we who read it in cold print and in the light of the indefensible tragedy now being enacted near the shores of Asia involuntarily think of that creation of Charles Dickens who was accustomed to roll his eyes piously to heaven and exclaim with great ostentation to those about him, "My friends, let us be moral!" and who was the father of two daughters, one of whom he named Charity and the other Mercy.

His Excellency declared upon this occasion, if not in so many words, at least in effect, that he had never entertained any policy with respect to the Philippines up to the time the treaty of peace was ratified, but that he had simply held them as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, leaving the question as to their disposition and control to be determined thereafter by Congress. This is precisely the same plea that was made for him by his mouthpiece upon the floor the gentleman from Ohio, in the speech which that gentleman made here while the Army bill was pending, in answer to some remarks which I had previously submitted in the debate. The President, however, was not so candid in his Home Market utterance as

was the gentleman from Ohio, for he made no profert therein of his proclamation to the Philippines, issued immediately after the signing of the treaty of peace at Paris, whereas the gentleman from Ohio inserted that document in full in the Record when he came to revise his remarks, where it can easily be discovered, by those who might read it, that it is as an entirety directly at variance with the construction which the gentleman placed upon it while reading fragmentary portions of it during his speech.

If the Chief Executive really feels, as he declared at this banquet, that the disposition of the Philippines is a matter to be determined by Congress, why does he not call a special session of Congress to settle the matter at once, and then keep his hands off the legislative branch of the Government and not attempt to influence it while the subject is being discussed and decided? Heaven knows there is need of action and of speedy action. If he is sincere, why did he permit his supporters in the Senate to vote down the other day the Bacon resolution, which distinctly declared that the United States entertained no intention of permanently holding these islands, but that it would, when the people there had established their government firmly, withdraw and leave them to govern themselves?

Why did he insist that the McEnery resolution should be passed—a resolution which is a fraud, a delusion, and a snare, a shameful evasion, which, like a Christmas tree, has something upon it for everybody—a resolution which is all things to all men and which can be construed to suit the predilections of the man who reads it, whether he be for or against the permanent holding of the Philippines? That resolution is intended simply to quiet the conscience of the American people, to lull all opposition to sleep while the

President goes ahead waging relentless and merciless war against the Filipinos and laying deep and secure the foundations for a permanent American colony in their territory. No Representative who is opposed to such a policy as this can vote for this resolution without self-stultification and the loss of self-respect. Its passage is precisely what the advocates of imperialism in the East most earnestly desire.

But the Chief Executive of this nation had scarcely hidden himself behind the plea of a simple holding of the Philippines as the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, had scarcely disavowed that he had entertained any policy as to their disposition, until, with an inconsistency that would have been impossible in anyone save himself, he gave his whole case away by declaring that the islands came into our possession by circumstances beyond anyone's control and by launching out into a labored defense of the very terms of the obnoxious treaty of peace itself.

He stated further that we had been obliged to take the Philippines to ourselves because to withdraw from them would have been, first, to abandon the Filipinos to anarchy because of their incapacity for self-government; second, to leave them exposed to the renewed oppression and tyranny of Spain; and third, to abandon them to absorption by the great powers of the Old World. If by the statement that the Philippines came into our possession through circumstances which no man could control, the Chief Executive referred to the temporary possession of them which came as a result of the victory of Admiral Dewey and his gallant tars, I have no issue to make with him. But if, in the use of that expression, he seeks to convey to his countrymen the idea that their present permanent acquisition by us was beyond control, I utterly deny it, and think I will be able to fix this

responsibility, before I am through, where it properly belongs.

Now, I am determined that the President of the United States shall neither befog the issue between himself and those of the Republican party who oppose his Philippine policy, nor mislead the public judgment, nor escape responsibility for the gross official blunder which he has committed in connection with this Eastern problem. If this war for subjugation of an alien race, waged without the declaration of Congress, the permanent acquisition of their territory to our own domain, the creation of a great standing army and navy, the loading down of our people with grievous taxation, the departure from the policy of nonintervention in European affairs, under which we have outstripped in progress and development any nation on the face of the globe, is right, then the President is entitled to the glory of the accomplishment, and no man should be permitted to snatch a single laurel from his brow.

If, on the other hand, the policy is wrong and fraught with grave menace and serious danger to the American public, the President is alone responsible for it, and he must bear the whole burden of the fearful responsibility. I assert that the entire policy is not simply an error, but that it is a crime, and that the Chief Executive of this nation is the one who has precipitated upon us the embarrassments and the difficulties by which we are now confronted. I insist that he did not simply hold the Philippines as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, leaving the question of the disposition and control of them to Congress, but that he formulated and put into execution an affirmative and aggressive policy, that of their permanent annexation to this country, and forced it through the Senate of the United States with all the

power and influences which his high office enabled him to employ.

Let us see whether I am right in this. When Spain sued for peace, it became not simply the right, but also the duty of the President to take the initiative in determining what should be the terms of the peace. The Constitution expressly conferred the treaty-making power upon him, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Right then and there was the Presidential opportunity. He could insert in that treaty whatever terms he pleased. He could omit from it whatever terms he desired, acting always, of course, within the limits of his constitutional powers. True, the instrument would be of no validity until Spain agreed to it and it was ratified by the Senate; but Spain would have consented to anything. She was defeated, disheartened, and impotent.

Not a nation on earth was willing to come to her rescue. The Senate would have ratified anything which the President had seen fit to submit to it. The Chief Executive was popular with the people. Whether he deserved that popularity I shall not stop to inquire. I simply stated as a well-known fact that he possessed the entire confidence of the country, and therefore he had no reason to fear to do what was right. The occasion was one calling for the exercise on his part of intelligence, sound judgment, patriotism, and wise statesmanship. His first impression was to demand of the Filipinos simply a coaling station, a measure amply sufficient for all of our legitimate purposes, and the evacuation of the island by Spain without compensation by the taxpayers of the United States.

Had he adhered to this view of the matter, all would have been well. The whole nation would have followed him cheerfully, and to-day we would have been

at peace with the Philippine republic, and our Army and Navy, which is now waging war against our former friends and allies, would have been disbanded. No Army bill for a standing army of 100,000 men would have been pending or necessary, and we could now be getting ready to reduce instead of getting ready to greatly increase the burden of our taxation. But the President changed his original intention. He committed a fatal error. He wrote into that treaty the absolute transfer of Spanish sovereignty over the Philippines to ourselves, and the payment of $20,000,000 out of the United States Treasury as a consideration for the cession.

He sent this treaty to the Senate of the United States for ratification. Then he issued to the people of the Philippines that proclamation in which he informed them that the United States had succeeded to the title of Spain, declared that the government and control of their territory belonged to us, ordered them to pay their taxes to the military government which he established over them, and blandly made known to them that our mission in their midst was one of "benevolent assimilation." They were further assured by him, as he took their islands without their consent and established government over them against their will, that we came in order that we might confer inestimable advantages and blessings upon them, and that if they accepted our control without remonstrance they would be protected, but that if they failed to do so they would be coerced.

Then sir, turning again to the treaty which he had negotiated, he drove it through the Senate of the United States by the unlimited exercise of all those powers and influences which the great office he holds makes possible.

These facts which I have stated are true; they are

now known to all intelligent men. They can not be successfully denied. What, then, did the Chief Executive mean by telling those who gathered around the banquet board at Boston that up to the ratification of the Paris treaty he had simply held the Philippines as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy without any policy of his own, leaving the whole matter to be determined afterward by the Congress of the United States? Was he foolish enough to believe that his mere statement would be allowed to pass unchallenged? Was he vain enough to imagine that his ipse dixit would conclude the matter, with the damning proof of its falsity so near at hand?

Why did the President change his original intention as to the terms to be incorporated into the treaty? What were the influences that brought the change about? I have heard it stated that the applause of the people who greeted him just about this juncture of public affairs, while he was on his tour in the West, was the reason for it. Was it, then, the condition of public sentiment rather than the right or wrong of the matter which influenced the Presidential mind? Does the Chief Executive regard his great prerogatives to be so supinely representative that he must needs abdicate them at every popular wind that blows? Does he feel that his high office gives him no latitude for the exercise of individual judgment and of independent action? Did he make no allowance for transient ebullitions of public enthusiasm and excitement, overlook his opportunity to save the people from themselves, lose sight of all the sacred traditions of the country, and fear to make his appeal to that ultimate tribunal which has so often in our national history vindicated those who have fearlessly stood for the right in public affairs—the sober, second thought of the great American people?

Henry U. Johnson.

And is His Excellency quite sure that he properly gauged the condition of the public mind on the subject of Philippine annexation? Is he absolutely certain that one swallow really makes a whole summer? It would seem so, for in this Home Market address he exultingly declared that the annexation treaty had passed the Senate by over two-thirds majority of that body and was sanctioned by the judgment of nine-tenths of his countrymen. How that treaty finally got its two-thirds majority in the Senate—the tremendous pressure necessary to secure it there—where its fate hung doubtful and trembling in the balance until the very latest moment, and was then only saved by the votes of Senators who had most of them spoken against it, no man knows better than William McKinley, the President of the United States. Every Representative upon this floor knows that it is doubtful whether the treaty could secure a two-thirds vote in this House if the test were to be made here to-day.

Judging, then, by the opinion of their Representatives, sir, only two-thirds, and not nine-tenths, of the American people are inclined to ratify this treaty. Adulation has indeed sorely blinded the Chief Executive to the truth if he imagines that even the majority of his countrymen approve of this permanent holding in the Orient. Let him not pin his faith too securely to the sordid interests which clamor so loudly in his hearing, to those who so confidently and recklessly assume to speak for the whole of our mighty population. If he will but quiet the noisy throng which surrounds him long enough to put his ear to the ground and listen he will distinguish the premonitions of a coming storm; he will hear the steady tread, not of the 100,000 men whom he demands for a crusade against liberty, but of a mighty army of free

made this statement the Filipinos were governing themselves on every inch of their territory which we had not wrested from their possession? They were not only governing themselves, but they were also fighting desperately for the right to do so in the future. At the very instant those words fell from the Presidential lips there was only one native government in the Philippine Islands. This was the Philippine republic, loyally supported by all the people. It had a written constitution, a president, cabinet officers, a legislative body, a seat of government, and an army officered and in the field and equipped with munitions of war. It has possession and control of all the territory except the city of Manila and, perhaps, one other seacoast city, which we held ourselves. This government, too, was in existence the very day the treaty of peace was signed at Paris. It was then capable of maintaining itself against Spain. Her power to overthrow it was gone, and gone forever. This is the report rendered to our Chief Executive by our own consul abroad. This Philippine republic was entitled to recognition under the laws of nations. Spain's title, sir, was destroyed. How could she convey to us a sovereignty which she had irretrievably lost?

The Filipinos incapable of self-government? Liable to fall into anarchy, you say, if left to themselves? Have you observed that they publish and read newspapers in Manila? Did you see in the Washington Post, not long ago, the high tribute paid to them by the two United States naval officers who, by permission of Aguinaldo, traveled extensively in the interior of the islands? Have you failed to note the intelligence of Agoncillo and the other Philippine representatives recently within our borders? Are you aware that Admiral Dewey made use of this language

in his communication to the Secretary of the Navy on the 29th day of last August:

The population of Luzon is reported to be something over 3,000,000, mostly natives. These are gentle, docile, and, under just laws and with the benefits of popular education, would soon make good citizens.

In a telegram sent to the Department on June 23 I expressed the opinion that "these people are far superior in their intelligence, and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races." Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion.

Do you know that in the "Notes on the Philippines," issued by the Adjutant-General's Office of the War Department last September, the following language occurs:

The Philippine Malays are a superior race to many other Asiatic peoples. Orderly, amiable, courteous, honest, and exceedingly superstitious, they are easily influenced upon professions of Christianity. Like most tropical people, their efforts are intermittent rather than steady, their wants are readily provided for, and they take life easy. * * * The inhabitants are generally tractable and amenable to government, and generally not hostile to foreigners.

Has it escaped your notice that the United States consul-general at Hongkong, China, made use of the following language in his communication to Mr. Moore, of the Department of State, in his letter of July 18, 1898?—

I have lived among the Malays of the Straits Settlements and have been an honored guest of the different sultanates. I have watched their system of government and have admired their intelligence, and I rank them high among the semi-civilized nations of the earth. The natives of the Philippine Islands belong to the Malay race, and while there are very few pure Malays among their leaders, I think their stock has rather been improved than debased by admixture.

I consider the forty or fifty Philippine leaders, with whose fortunes I have been very closely connected, both the superiors of the Malays and the Cubans. Aguinaldo, Agoncillo, and Sandico are all men who would all be leaders in their separate departments in any country, while among the wealthy Manila men, who live in Hongkong and who are spending their money liberally for the overthrow of the Spaniards and the annexation to the United States, men like the Cortes family and the Basa family, would hold their own among bankers and lawyers anywhere.

Let me call your attention still further to another paragraph in this consul-general's communication, which reads as follows:

In conclusion, I wish to put myself on record as stating that the insurgent government of the Philippine Islands can not be dealt with

to the War Department, composed of three American citizens, the object being to farm out valuable privileges and immunities which should belong to the people of those islands themselves, and in whose disposition they should have a voice, if their government is to be free and their rights maintained. Do not misunderstand me. I have no fault to find, sir, with the spirit of legitimate American commerce. It should be fostered, encouraged, and extended. My contention is against the spirit of American greed which cares nothing for the spirit of American liberty and still less for the freedom of an alien people, which would trample ruthlessly upon the most sacred rights and count life and human happiness for nothing, as against the power to plunder under the plausible pretense of legitimate trade.

And what do these gentlemen propose? To amass colossal fortunes in the islands by virtue of their franchises and upon the cheap labor of the native population, not one dollar of which will ever find its lodging place in the pockets of the American people. To enable them to do this, our whole population is to purchase their field of operations for them in the Philippines for the round sum of $20,000,000, and is to be taxed interminably and excessively for the creation and maintenance of a great army and navy, which is to conquer and hold the Filipinos in subjection and defend the islands after they have been expensively fortified against the assaults of the great European nations, with which our new foreign policy will be certain to bring us into frequent contention.

What else is upon the program of these gentlemen? The open door in the Philippines, making it forever totally impossible to discriminate in tariff duties there in favor of the products of the American farm and the American shop.

What is the other sacrifice that is required? That the annexation of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, absolutely sure to come at an early day, for they have registered it in their vows, shall precipitate the sugar, tobacco, hemp, and other cheap products of these islands and Hawaii upon the American market in free and unrestricted competition with the agricultural and laboring elements of our own country.

This policy, sir, would be free trade in William Jennings Bryan. What is it in William McKinley?

Where, now, is the masterful champion of protection, the author of the McKinley bill, the man who advocated protection in season and out of season and earnestly contended that it shed its blessings, "as the gentle rain from heaven," upon all classes of our people, alike upon the farmer, the laborer, and the manufacturer? Has he changed his views upon the tariff also? Has he recanted his old faith? Has he resolved to abandon the farmer and the laborer to unrestricted competition with the pauper labor of the Old World and of the tropics? Let the Senator from Ohio, whom I much like and admire, and the Senator from Minnesota, who recently nominated him for reelection in their post-prandial speeches at the Dayton banquet, and who seek to forestall the choice of the next Republican national convention many months in advance of its assembling, answer this question; answer it, not merely to the party bosses who make nominations, but to the great, honest, and liberty-loving masses of the Republican party, without whose ratification at the polls their work will all have been done in vain.

The President of the United States, as I have said, told his auditors at Boston that the Filipinos were incapable of governing themselves. It is a complete answer to this to say that at the very moment he

made this statement the Filipinos were governing themselves on every inch of their territory which we had not wrested from their possession? They were not only governing themselves, but they were also fighting desperately for the right to do so in the future. At the very instant those words fell from the Presidential lips there was only one native government in the Philippine Islands. This was the Philippine republic, loyally supported by all the people. It had a written constitution, a president, cabinet officers, a legislative body, a seat of government, and an army officered and in the field and equipped with munitions of war. It has possession and control of all the territory except the city of Manila and, perhaps, one other seacoast city, which we held ourselves. This government, too, was in existence the very day the treaty of peace was signed at Paris. It was then capable of maintaining itself against Spain. Her power to overthrow it was gone, and gone forever. This is the report rendered to our Chief Executive by our own consul abroad. This Philippine republic was entitled to recognition under the laws of nations. Spain's title, sir, was destroyed. How could she convey to us a sovereignty which she had irretrievably lost?

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Let me call your attention still further to another paragraph in this consul-general's communication, which reads as follows:

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as though they were North American Indians, willing to be removed from one reservation to another at the whim of their masters. If the United States decides not to retain the Philippine Islands, its 10,000,000 people will demand independence, and the attempt of any foreign nation to obtain territory or coaling stations will be resisted with the same spirit with which they fought the Spaniards.

You are mistaken, sadly mistaken. The Philippine people are capable of self-government. Take your mailed hand from their throats, and give them a chance to demonstrate this fact still further. Cease sending our brave soldiers to meet death in an ignoble war. What right have you to demand such a sacrifice as this? Stop wasting our national resources in an effort to belie all the professions of sympathy which we have made in times past for the downtrodden and oppressed. You are maligning the national character. You are bringing reproach upon the greatest Republic of modern times. There is serious danger ahead, too, if you do not desist. You were warned in the concluding paragraph of our consul-general's communication, which I have just read, that the Filipinos were a spirited people, and that they would not be deterred by overwhelming odds from resisting any nation which might assail their independence as bravely as they had resisted Spain, and yet you insisted on undertaking the experiment. You have gotten us into our difficulties. Now, sir, you must do your full share in extricating us from them.

Stand back and accord to these people who by their valor have earned the right to be free the privilege of establishing such a form of government as they themselves prefer. It will not, of course, be nearly so perfect a government as ours, for they are of an inferior race to our own. But though it may be somewhat crude, especially at the outset, it will answer all their needs well enough, and will bring to them peace and happiness.

You can not command public sympathy, aye, you

will soon forfeit public respect, if you keep on exclaiming, as you did in your speech to the Home Market Club, "It is not a good time for the liberator to submit important questions concerning liberty and government to the liberated while they are engaged in shooting down their rescuers." The inhabitants of the Philippines are not liberated; they are oppressed. We are not liberators; nor are we rescuers. We are inflicting upon them a grievous wrong. The spirit of liberty is not yet dead in the breasts of your countrymen, and the time is near at hand when such sentiments as those you have uttered will, from the lips of any public man, however high his station, be everywhere received with manifestations of dissent rather than of approbation.

The Chief Executive's declaration that we were forced to take the Philippines in order to save them from again falling under the domination of Spain is a pretext, not a fact.

When the treaty was signed at Paris, the Philippine republic was in the condition which I have already described—firmly established, cordially supported by all of the people, occupying all the islands, except the city of Manila, which was held by us, and the city of Iloilo, which soon thereafter passed into their possession. It has a good-sized army in the field, well officered and equipped.

On the other hand, Spain's soldiers were scattered or imprisoned; her ships antiquated, crippled, or at the bottom of the sea; her finances disordered; her treasury well-nigh bankrupt, and her people in despair.

How could she thus situated have regained her ascendency over 10,000,000 people in the Philippines, 12,000 miles from her borders, when before these misfortunes befell her, with an army of 150,000 men and a great fleet at her command, she had signally

failed to subdue a million or two of Cubans only 3,000 miles distant?

Spain not only could not have accomplished this task, but she never would have undertaken it, especially had the President required her to evacuate the Philippines, without compensation from the Federal Treasury, and leave the people of these islands to manage their own affairs.

Again, His Excellency told his Home Market auditors that we were obliged to commit grand larceny of the Philippines in order to prevent the great European nations from committing the crime.

The Presidential defense seems to be summed up about as follows: First, I never had any policy with respect to the Philippines prior to the ratification of the treaty of peace—I only held them ministerially to preserve the peace; second, no one is responsible for our having determined to hold them permanently and by force—we have possession of them by virtue of circumstances beyond anyone's control; third, we take them because the Filipinos are not capable of self-government; fourth, we take them to prevent Spain from recovering them; fifth, we take them in order to prevent the great European nations from parceling them out among themselves.

The gentlemen in this Chamber who follow the profession of law will not fail to observe the marked resemblance between this Presidential answer and the answer permitted to be filed in cases at law in those States of the Union which have adopted what is generally known as the "reformed system of code pleading." One of the distinguishing features of this system is that defenses which are totally inconsistent and irreconcilable with each other are allowed to be set up in different paragraphs of the same answer. In some of the States, however, the provision is practical-

ly done away with by requiring the defendant to verify his answer under his oath.

What a dilemma the Chief Executive would be in if this latter rule were applied to his defense in the case of the Philippines! What would be his confusion, too, if instead of giving to him the boundless universe to defend in he was suddenly required to elect upon which paragraph of his answer he would rely?

When the President of 75,000,000 of free people assigns as a reason for overthrowing the liberty of an alien race that other nations would have committed the wrong if he had not, I submit that we have certainly reached a pretty low ebb in our national existence. Far nobler to have left to nations less humane than ourselves a monopoly of such wrong. It is not in line with our traditions or our practices. We could at least have kept our hands clean and our honor unsullied. We owed to the Filipinos no duty of protection. They neither desired nor asked it of us. We never promised it to them. What they demanded was absolute independence—independence of us as well as of Spain, and of all the world besides. They entertained no fear of other nations. Why, then, should we have feared for them? They ask our permission, aye, they demand their right, to run the risk. We only deny it because we have designs upon them.

No nation on earth manifested any disposition to lay violent hands upon the Philippines, unless it was Germany, and she was inspired to whatever course she pursued by the belief that we were intending to appropriate them to ourselves. Had we compelled Spain to evacuate, and then recognized the Philippine republic and given it a helping hand, the example would not have been lost upon Europe, and the full measure of our duty would have been righteously performed. To say that our example would not have been

followed and that the Philippines would have been appropriated by other nations is, to say the least, to deny to them that which is theirs of right—the opportunity to try the experiment.

Our treatment of the Filipinos is among the saddest and most disgraceful incidents of all our national history. It is incapable of defense, though not yet, thank heaven, beyond our power of reparation. This people have been cruelly oppressed by Spain for years. Their sufferings have been extraordinary. Time and again they have risen against their oppressors and struggled to be free. They were fighting for their independence when our war with Spain commenced. We sought and accepted their aid against the common enemy. We brought Aguinaldo back from China, supplied him with arms and ammunition, and sent him to lead his countrymen against the Spanish army in the Philippines. We did not ask his submission to us. He did not agree to accept our domination. We encouraged him and his people to believe that their rights should be zealously regarded. They had heard of the great Republic beyond the sea. They knew of Washington and of Lincoln, of our struggle for our independence, and of the representative character of the Government which we have established. They knew that we had proclaimed a holy war to emancipate in Cuba a people who were the victims of the same relentless master who had been the author of all their woes.

They had heard the positive declaration of the President that our war was not being waged for the forcible annexation of territory; that this, according to our code of morals, would be criminal aggression and was not to be thought of for one moment. They thought that he spoke the truth; they believed in us; they trusted us. They looked upon our flag with glad eyes and with hopeful hearts. Never did it occur to them

for one instant that we were capable of deception, that we could by any human possibility cherish designs against their liberties. So they assembled their army; they attacked the common foe. They drove the Spanish outposts into Manila and besieged Spain there by land, while Dewey's victorious fleet menaced her by sea. They were our faithful friends and our loyal allies. Gentlemen may deny this if they please. They may stickle for technicalities. They only add to our record of shame when they do so, for part 1 of Senate Document No. 62 and current history also attest the truth of what I declare. In the days which immediately succeeded the destruction of the Spanish fleet we had no American soldiers to land, capture Manila, and occupy the soil, but Aguinaldo and the insurgents were our army of occupation.

Then these people created a government in order that they might enjoy the blessings of liberty. It was a free government, too; a republic modeled largely after ours. I need not describe it. I have done that already; but I repeat once more—indeed, it can not be emphasized too strongly—that it was a government which was acceptable to all the people and that it was supreme and powerful over all the territory except the city of Manila, and, perhaps, one other city, since passed into Philippine possession. The sentiment which this people cherished toward us was made manifest by a simple incident which occurred when a consul-general of the United States paid a visit to Manila. The consul informs us that he was received with the utmost enthusiasm, that he was cheered to the echo, and that the people of all ages and conditions and of both sexes pressed eagerly upon him, and, in their anxiety to grasp his hands in welcome, impeded his progress for blocks through the city.

But the Administration, which had at first been per-

fectly willing to receive the aid of the Filipinos against Spain, and had actually done so, began early to ignore them. Dispatches were then sent calling down our consuls in the Orient who had spoken well of them and had helped to enlist their services in our behalf. We commenced to treat them with coldness and neglect, to separate ourselves from them. Possibly the President then contemplated turning them back to Spain when peace should come, and therefore thought that he had better not recognize them too far; that such a course might create embarrassment in negotiating a treaty of peace—an event then just ahead. Soon, however, came his resolution to deprive them of their liberty and take them unto ourselves. They heard Spain sue for an armistice. They witnessed the signing of the protocol, leaving the disposition of their territory a subject for future determination. They had by this time learned to suspect us, to doubt our integrity. They were filled with anxiety and alarm. They drew apart from us, and unto themselves. They soon saw with indignation that President who not eight months before had declared to the world that the Spanish war was not waged for the forcible annexation of territory negotiate a treaty which robbed them of their soil and annexed it to our own domain, and send it to the Senate of the United States for its approval. They listened with heavy hearts and kindling resentment to the same President's proclamation, couched in language as cruel as it was diplomatic, and in his honeyed phraseology they read the death knell of all their long-cherished aspirations to be free.

In this their great emergency they dispatched to our shores a representative, whose mission was one of amity, and who came only to intercede with the Chief Executive and to implore him and us to do them no wrong. In what manner did the President receive this

intelligent and inoffensive man, this messenger from our friends and allies? He ignored him entirely. His respectful petitions were treated with silent contempt. When he knocked mildly and respectfully at the doors of the Department of State the silence within was like unto that of the grave; they were barred against him. Spies were set to watch him at his hotel, as though he were a common malefactor. When he walked out into this city his footsteps were dogged by detectives of the secret service. He was denounced, misrepresented, and mistrusted. Finally he was threatened with arrest, and then, when to avoid so great an indignity he fled our domain, we added insult to injury by falsely charging that he had telegraphed to Aguinaldo to attack our troops at Manila as a means of preventing the ratification of the treaty of peace in the Senate, and had left us to escape punishment for that offense.

How could this innocent man have sent such a telegram and escaped prompt detection here, when his every act was under our constant surveillance, when we had established a strict censorship over all that he said or did? What man not a driveling idiot believes that Agoncillo was fool enough to precipitate bloodshed in the Philippines when he knew only too well that peace there was the only hope for the defeat of the treaty here?

Then we ratified this unjust treaty, voted down in the Senate the Bacon resolution, which disavowed any intention of holding these islands permanently, refused even to consider a similarly worded resolution in this House, and, having provoked this unhappy people to attack us at Manila by our menace of them, we now find ourselves waging against them at all points not only a defensive, but an aggressive and bloody war to reduce them to our arbitrary wills;

and now comes the Chief Executive of this nation, the one person responsible above everyone else for the whole wretched business, and in lugubrious accents informs his Boston audience that every red drop of blood around the trenches of Manila, whether of an American soldier or of a "misguided" Filipino, brings anguish to his heart.

How it must augment the agony of the great sufferer to reflect that his own hand has precipitated his all-absorbing grief upon him! Let him reflect upon unaffected sorrow—the sorrow that dwells in the breast of the heart-broken wife or child as the terrible message is flashed to them over the ocean cable that a loved one has fallen far off in the East, under the hot skies of the Tropics. Let him turn his face to the Orient, and there in the lurid glare of their burning homes behold in the jungles the dusky bodies of the lifeless Filipinos, whose sightless orbs turn upward, as though mutely appealing to high heaven for the justice which he has denied them.

And all of these wrongs to which I have made reference have been committed in the name of a people who boast of their free institutions, and who live under a written Constitution, every line of which fairly bristles with guaranties for the liberties of the citizen.

These remarks of mine will be certain to be followed, both in and out of Congress, by a prolonged howl of denunciation from a particular class of persons. Notwithstanding the fact that I announced over two years ago to many persons in my district that I would never again be an aspirant for Congress, and was not a candidate either for renomination or reelection to this House, we will hear it stated and published that my constituents have "retired" me from public life. My motives will be aspersed, my purpose misrepresented, and my conduct unjustly as-

CAR BEARING AGUINALDO AND OTHER LEADERS LEAVING FOR HONG KONG.

sailed. The vocabulary of epithets will be exhausted upon me. I will, of course, be accused of having made a vindictive and unjustifiable attack upon a great and noble President. I will be stigmatized as a coward and as a traitor to my party. It was so when I arraigned the Chief Magistrate for his faithlessness to public duty on a former occasion from this floor. It will be so again. In this peculiar style of warfare, you will find the gentlemen who have been incapable of contributing anything in the way of argument in support of the policy of the Administration taking most conspicuous rank. They will have the cordial co-operation of the gentlemen who are more anxious to be popular than they are to be right.

The gentlemen who are grateful for patronage already received and stimulated by the lively anticipation of patronage yet to come will also attune their voracious voices to the general chorus. Only a blind and unreasoning acceptance of the doctrine of Presidential infallibility and a supine acquiescence in the Presidential ipse dixit can commend a Representative to this kind of individuals. With them independence in thought and action is a crime. To their minds "the king can do no wrong," even though the king is caught in the very perpetration of a wrong. They load the Chief Magistrate down with eulogies—a common trick of mediocrity—surrender up their independence and judgment to his keeping, and thus encouraging him in his errors, follow him uncomplainingly, even though he is leading them and the party into danger and the country into serious difficulty and embarrassment. These gentlemen, who demonstrate their own bravery by rushing at the head of what they conceive to be an overwhelming public sentiment to assail a Representative who is making his fight single-handed and alone, so far as this side of the Chamber

is concerned, would do well to reflect before they impeach any man's devotion to the Republican party.

I was a Republican long before these debates arose. I am a Republican still. I expect to remain a Republican, though I trust I may be pardoned for declaring that no political organization deserves support which proves recreant to the fundamental principles of liberty upon which it is founded and surrenders both its conscience and its traditions to the demand of greed and avarice. Those who charge me with party disloyalty would do well to specify with particularity wherein I have been guilty instead of confining themselves to wholesale charges and vague generalities.

It is the President and those who are particeps criminis to his wrong, either by giving him their active support or by quietly submitting to his aggressions while he is leading the party into pitfalls, who are lacking in party fealty, not I. The time for earnest Republicans to make their fight is here and now, before the organization is irretrievably committed to a policy which will, if adhered to, assuredly lead to overwhelming defeat.

The President seems fatally bent on giving the Democratic party the right side of a great moral issue, which will take an abiding hold upon the consciences of the American people in the next campaign. He is determined to commit it to the championship of oppression, violence, and excessive taxation—to appeal to a free people for indorsement upon an unsavory record, in which an abandonment of our most cherished traditions, the enslavement of an alien people, and the creation of a large and expensive standing army and navy shall be the most prominent feature.

To this, as a Republican, I am unalterably opposed.

The world of civilization and of letters was still lingering under the charm of Rudyard Kipling's great poem, the "Recessional," when he again arrested its attention with another product of his pen entitled "The White Man's Burden." The appearance of this latter poem called forth from some writer to me unknown a parody entitled "The Brown Man's Burden," which recently appeared in the paper of Henri Labouchere. This parody could with great propriety have been dedicated to the President of the United States, for it is in effect a severe and caustic arraignment of his policy in the Orient. I can not, of course, arrogate to myself the right of dedication. That is the exclusive privilege of the author. But I take the liberty of concluding my remarks by reading a part of it to the House and commending it to the Chief Executive's most thoughtful and earnest consideration. That portion of the poem which I desire to read is as follows:

Pile on the brown man's burden
To gratify your greed;
Go, clear away the "niggers"
Who progress would impede;
Be very stern, for truly
'Tis useless to be mild
With new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

Pile on the brown man's burden,
And if ye rouse his hate,
Meet his old-fashioned reasons
With Maxims up-to-date;
With shells and dum-dum bullets,
A hundred times make plain
The brown man's loss must ever
Imply the white man's gain.

Pile on the brown man's burden,
Compel him to be free;
Let all your manifestoes
Reek with philanthropy,
And if with heathen folly
He dares your will dispute,
Then in the name of freedom
Don't hesitate to shoot.

Pile on the brown man's burden,
  Nor do not deem it hard
If you should earn the rancor
  Of those ye yearn to guard;
The screaming of your eagle
  Will drown the victim's sob—
Go on through fire and slaughter,
  There's dollars in the job.

Pile on the brown man's burden,
  With equity have done,
Weak, antiquated scruples
  Their squeamish course have run,
And though 'tis freedom's banner
  You're waving in the van,
Reserve for home consumption
  The sacred "Rights of man."

CHAPTER XXXI.

OUR FUTURE POLICY.

BY THE HON. J. G. CARLISLE.

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Whether we shall enter upon a career of conquest and annexation in the islands of the seas adjacent to our shores and in distant parts of the world, or adhere to the peaceful continental policy which has heretofore characterized our national course, is by far the most important question yet presented for the consideration of our people in connection with the existing war with Spain. To even the most careless observer of current events it must be evident that the avowed purpose for which the war was commenced has passed almost entirely out of the public mind, and that, if not wholly abandoned before hostilities cease, it will be accomplished merely as one of the incidents attending the success of our arms, while other results having a permanent and controlling influence upon our future national life and character may make this struggle with a feeble monarchy in Europe the commencement of a new era in the history of the great American republic. Spain may not be able to maintain her existing dynasty, or even her present form of government, and yet it may be that she has provoked a conflict which will mark the beginning of a radical change in the domestic and foreign policy of the United States, and possibly the beginning of a revolution in the opinions and aspirations of our people which may ultimately prove fatal to the simple republican institutions under which we now live.

The only causes for the intervention which resulted in the present war, as stated by Congress in a resolution approved by the President, were that "the abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battleship, with 266 of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, and cannot longer be endured." For these reasons only it was declared that the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent; that it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from that island and its waters; and that the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states, to such extent as may be necessary to carry the resolution into effect. Even if the resolution had stopped here, it would have been perfectly plain that there was no purpose of conquest or annexation, because the right of the people of Cuba to be free and independent, which includes a right to establish and maintain a separate government of their own, was distinctly declared; but, in order to give the world positive assurance of our unselfish purposes, the resolution concluded with the unequivocal statement that "the United States hereby disclaims any disposition to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for

the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

This demand, with the disclaimer incorporated in it, was at once officially transmitted to our minister at Madrid for delivery to the Spanish government, with the announcement that a response must be made within forty-eight hours. That government having prevented the delivery of the demand by the summary dismissal of our minister, Congress promptly declared that war existed between the two countries from the date of that act, and we are now engaged in the prosecution of hostilities for the reasons and purposes set forth in the resolution. Unless bad faith is to be imputed to our government, the conclusion is inevitable that if this demand had been complied with, the whole purpose of our intervention would have been accomplished, and no further proceedings of an unfriendly character would have been taken. If we were actuated by any other motives or entertained any other purposes, then was the time to declare them, in order that our own people and the world at large might fully understand the grounds upon which it was proposed to justify our action. Honesty is the best policy for nations as well as for individuals, and having thus explicitly declared the purpose for which the war was to be prosecuted, we cannot, without serious injury to our national character and standing, enter upon a crusade for the spoliation of the enemy's territory. Such a course would not only forfeit the respect and confidence of other nations, and deprive us in large part of the sympathy which our declared position has secured for us, but might provoke such unfriendly proceedings upon the part of other governments as to embarrass our operations and greatly prolong the strug-

gle. But our national honor is pledged, and ought to be sacredly preserved, no matter what view other nations may take of the subject. Even if the permanent acquisition of the colonial possessions of Spain were desirable under any circumstances, we could not afford to seize and hold them as the result of a war professedly prosecuted solely in the interest of humanity and the right of the people to govern themselves as independent communities.

It is urged by some, however, that we should appropriate the territory of the enemy as an indemnity for the expenditures incurred in the prosecution of the war, but it is obvious that such a course would be wholly inconsistent with the motives avowed by Congress as a justification for the intervention. It would place us in the humiliating attitude of demanding compensation for our humanity and love of liberty. It was perfectly evident from the terms of the resolution that war was expected to follow a refusal by Spain to comply with our demand for the liberation of the suffering people of Cuba, and it was of course well known that war could not be prosecuted without an enormous expenditure of money and a great sacrifice of life and property; and yet a solemn pledge was made that we would not attempt to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the very territory which furnished the whole cause for intervention. It would be a mere quibble to say that the pledge applied by its terms to Cuba only, and that we are therefore free to seize and appropriate Spanish territory in every other part of the globe. The declarations of the government must be taken as a whole; they announced the motives for the intervention and the object intended to be secured; and the pledge was incorporated only to give additional and positive assurance to the world

that no other motives influenced the action of the government, and that no other object was contemplated.

But, independently of the declarations which immediately preceded the commencement of hostilities, are we not impliedly pledged, by our past policy with reference to this hemisphere, not to make acquisitions of territory or establish governments in other quarters of the world? For three-quarters of a century this government has steadily maintained the position that it would not permit European powers to "extend their systems to any portion of this hemisphere," and several times we have been on the verge of serious collisions with other nations on account of a real or supposed purpose on their part to disregard our policy in this respect. At the time this policy was announced by President Monroe it was distinctly understood that it was equally incumbent upon us to abstain from all interference with the internal affairs of European nations. In October, 1823, Mr. Jefferson wrote to President Monroe: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs." And Mr. Monroe, in his message of that year, speaking of our policy in regard to Europe, said it was "not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers." He also declared in the same message, as a part of the policy he was promulgating, that "with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere." This policy was announced at a most critical period in our history. The Holy Alliance had been formed, and by an addition to its compact in 1822 had declared "that the system of representative government is equally as incompatible with the monarchical principles as the maxim of the

sovereignty of the people with the divine right," and the parties to it therefore engaged "in the most solemn manner to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative government in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known." One of the well-known purposes of this alliance was to assist Spain in re-establishing her authority over her revolted provinces in South America; but the position taken by the United States, supported by the refusal of Great Britain to countenance the views of the allied kings, put an end to their mischievous plans, at least so far as this hemisphere was concerned; and from that time to the present, by a firm adherence to the policy of non-intervention for political purposes in Europe, and protest against European intervention for like purposes on this side of the Atlantic, we have succeeded in keeping ourselves free from the quarrels and wars of the outside world, and in successfully developing the internal resources of a great republic devoted to the arts of peace and civilization. Suppose it had been announced in 1823 not only that we would not permit European nations to acquire territory or establish their systems of government on this hemisphere in the future, but that we would forcibly expel them from the possessions already held, whether on the mainland or in the seas, and that at the same time we would proceed at our own will and pleasure to acquire territory by conquest or cession, and set up governments in every part of the globe within our reach, can there be a rational doubt as to what the immediate result would have been? The nations already armed and combined to preserve and extend monarchical institutions and to suppress representative government would have resented our declar-

ation by the use of force: and this republic, then just beginning to feel assured of its strength and durability, would probably have been destroyed, and its territory partitioned among the co-operating powers. Even Great Britain, then holding large possessions on this continent, as well as valuable interests in the adjacent seas, would have been compelled, in self-defence, to join in the war of extermination against us, and we would not have had the support or sympathy of a single nation in Europe. The question for us now to consider is whether it would be wise, after maintaining this position for so long a time, and securing the acquiescence of other nations, largely upon the assurance that we would not meddle with their affairs, to reopen the controversy by a total reversal of our policy in regard to the acquisition of territory in remote parts of the world, and thus extend our political interests, power, and influence far beyond the limits voluntarily assigned to them. How can we consistently deny the right of other nations to acquire territory on this continent or in this hemisphere if we at the same time assert our own right to seize provinces and establish governments wherever we may choose? Nations have long lives, and this question is certain to confront us sooner or later if we take the new departure which many of our people now seem to favor.

But even if we were untrammelled by pledges, expressed or implied, or by our past declarations concerning the acquisition of territory in this hemisphere by other nations, there are abundant reasons, affecting our own economic and political interests, why we should not repudiate the conservative and safe policy which has made us the most compact, homogeneous, and progressive country in the world, and enter upon an unjustifiable and dangerous contest for dominion

and power beyond the natural limits of our State and Federal systems of government—a contest in which success would prove to be the greatest calamity that could befall us as a nation. That our political institutions were not designed for the government of dependent colonies and provinces is a proposition which scarcely admits of discussion. This was intended to be a free republic, composed of self-governing States and intelligent, law-abiding, and liberty-loving people; and no one has ever heretofore supposed that any territory or community could be rightfully governed by the central authority, except for such period as might be necessary to prepare it for admission into the Union upon a footing of perfect equality with each of the other States. The un-American theory that Congress or the Executive can permanently hold and govern any part of the United States in such manner as it or he may see proper is a necessary feature of the imperialism which now threatens the country; for it is evident that if this theory cannot be practically applied to the proposed additions to our territory, their possession will be a perpetual menace to our institutions. A large majority of the population which the advocates of conquest and annexation propose to incorporate by force into the body of American citizenship—the Chinese, Malays, half-breeds, native pagans, and others—are not only wholly unfit to govern themselves, but incapable of being successfully governed under our free Constitution. If, however, territory is acquired, it must be governed by either direct Congressional legislation or by the inhabitants themselves, under such supervision and control as Congress can constitutionally exercise. At the close of the war the title to all the territory actually held in subjection by our military forces will, unless otherwise

provided by stipulation or treaty, be vested in the United States for all public and political purposes. During the war, and while held by the military authorities, it will be subject to the laws of war, and may be governed accordingly, because it is still enemy's country; and if a de facto government has been established by the military authorities during the occupation, and is in existence when peace is concluded, that government may be continued for a reasonable time afterwards, in order that persons and property may be protected until the laws of the new sovereign can be extended over it. This exceptional form of government is justifiable only on the ground of necessity, and consequently it can be rightfully continued only for a sufficient time to enable the new proprietor to establish its own civil authority over the conquest or cession. But this de facto military government cannot, after the war is over, exercise any authority inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. There is no room for a military despotism, or for the exercise of arbitrary power by the civil authorities, anywhere within the jurisdiction of the United States in time of peace; and whenever the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, or other islands shall become part of our territory, their inhabitants will be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities secured to the people by the Constitution. While held by the military forces, after the cessation of hostilities, the officials representing the de facto government may administer the local affairs and establish rules and regulations for the preservation of peace and order, but the fundamental rights of the people must be respected.

"It cannot be admitted," says the Supreme Court, in a well-considered case, "that the King of Spain could, by treaty or otherwise, impart to the United

States any of his royal prerogatives; and much less can it be admitted that they have capacity to receive or power to exercise them. Every nation acquiring territory, by treaty or otherwise, must hold it subject to the Constitution and laws of its own government, and not according to those of the government ceding it."

Whatever power Congress possesses to govern a territory, either by direct legislation or by providing a form of local government by the people, is derived solely from the Constitution, and must be exercised in accordance with that instrument. Every territorial official, whether appointed by the President, designated by Congress, or elected by the people, must take an oath to support the Constitution, and he can perform no valid act inconsistent with its provisions. Under our system no part of our territory or people can be governed by proconsuls or governors-general, but only by responsible officials, whose powers are regulated and limited not only by the express provisions of the Constitution and laws but by the recognized principles of civil and religious liberty which constitute the bases of our political institutions. The acquisition of territory does not necessarily confer upon its inhabitants the immediate right of suffrage; but trial by jury, the right to the writ of habeas corpus, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience in matters of religion, immunity from unreasonable seizures and searches, the right to acquire and enjoy property free from molestation except by due process of law, and all the other personal rights, privileges, and immunities secured to citizens and others within our jurisdiction, must be respected and enforced in conquered and ceded territory as well as elsewhere.

The great mass of the people of the United States, as

now constituted, belong to a race which has been accustomed to the enjoyment of personal liberty and self-government from time immemorial. They are educated in the principles of English and American liberty, and they appreciate the blessings of free government; but the ignorant, degraded and servile races which it is now proposed to absorb into the body politic know absolutely nothing about these principles, or the institutions established for their maintenance; and even if they did, they are wholly incapable of appreciating them. All their habits, traditions, experience and surroundings, especially in the Philippine Islands and the other islands belonging to Spain, are opposed to our theories of government. Not only their political system, but their civilization, their social customs, and their conceptions of right and wrong, are wholly different from ours. The sense of individual independence in the conduct of their own private affairs, and of responsibility to the community and the state in the conduct of public affairs, has never existed in the minds of these people, and it cannot be imparted to them by a mere change of sovereignty. What they are now they must continue to be for many generations, and the political power which their numbers and the popular character of our institutions will ultimately entitle them to exercise will have a strong tendency to debase our legislation, and may even control the choice of the Chief Executive and the whole domestic and foreign policy of the government. The Philippine Islands, with a population of eight or ten millions, must, unless we are to violate the organic law of the land and hold and govern them perpetually as conquered provinces, be erected, within a reasonable time, into several States, each with two Senators, and altogether having thirty or forty Representatives; while

Cuba, with a population of a million and a half, must also become a State, with two Senators, and at least five Representatives, according to the present ratio. But this is not all we have to apprehend, for if we once inaugurate the policy of conquest and annexation beyond the boundaries of our own continent, at what point are we to stop? The possession of the Philippine Islands, Cuba, Hawaii, the Caroline Islands, the Ladrone Islands and Puerto Rico will not satisfy the aggressive spirit of imperialism; in fact, it will, according to the uniform experience of other nations, stimulate the desire for new acquisitions, and we will almost certainly go on, unless checked by the armed opposition of other powers, until we have fastened upon the United States a black and yellow horde of conscript citizens to debauch the suffrage and sap the foundations of our free institutions. It is a permanent national policy that we are asked to inaugurate, not merely a temporary departure from the course marked out by the statesmen of the past. Visions of a great empire extending into every part of the habitable globe, limited only by the measure of our own military power and the bounds of our own ambition, are already beginning to obscure the popular judgment and silence the voice of sober reason and genuine patriotism. Domestic problems of the gravest character, pressing for settlement, are treated with indifference, while dreams of wealth, of commercial supremacy abroad, martial glory, and autocratic dictation in the great international councils of the world, are inflaming the imaginations of the people, and rapidly driving them, without due consideration, into the indorsement of a policy which, when once adopted, can never be abandoned without a confession of weakness which no administration will ever be willing to make. Every

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disappointed politician, every adventurous speculator, every ambitious soldier of fortune, and every reckless enthusiast, whatever may be his calling or station in life, will clamor for new acquisitions, and the additional patronage which a compliance with his demands would secure will always constitute a persuasive argument in support of his policy. Every extension of our jurisdiction over inhabited territory acquired from other countries, especially if the inhabitants are ignorant and inexperienced in public affairs, will open a fruitful field for the operations of the unscrupulous politician, which, we may be sure, he will promptly occupy and diligently cultivate. It is said that the Spanish "carpet-bagger" is now the curse of the Philippine Islands, plundering the rich and the poor, the church and the state, with perfect impartiality, and it is probable that his capacity for extortion and peculation has not been exaggerated; but if we appropriate the islands it will very soon be demonstrated that the American species of this pest is much more destructive than the Spanish variety, and that he can easily grow rich and arrogant off the remnants left by his predecessors.

We must not delude ourselves with the hope or belief that the era of conquest and annexation will close when the present programme is completed; it will be the beginning, not the end. After the first step, public sentiment will be so perverted and the public service so demoralized that it will require more than ordinary moral courage upon the part of the conservative element in the country to resist the aggressive movement, urged on, as it will be, by appeals to patriotism, to national pride, and to commercial avarice. It will take our people a long time to learn, if they ever learn, that the enthusiasm and self-confidence born of suc-

cessful warfare are not safe guides in matters affecting the permanent policies of the government. The great danger is that they will not learn this truth at all, or learn it too late to save the republic.

While sympathy for the oppressed, and even actual assistance in their struggles for emancipation when it can be properly rendered, are not to be condemned, very few will deny that our first and highest duty is to protect the material and political interests of our own country, and prevent their being subordinated to the real or supposed interests of others, who, whatever may be their condition, are certainly not more meritorious than our own people. Whether Cuba shall be free and independent and shall have a stable government are questions of great importance to the people of that island, and of considerable importance to us; but the question of greatest importance to the people of the United States is whether they shall allow a war prosecuted ostensibly for the independence of a foreign people to be made the pretext or the occasion for changing the very essence of our national character, and for converting their own government into a great war-making, tax-consuming, land-grabbing, and office-distributing machine. No graver question than this will probably ever be presented for the consideration of the American people, for upon its decision depends the preservation or destruction of the vital principle of our federative republic of equal States. If we are to close and seal up the records of the past and begin a new history, it ought not to be said hereafter that it was done without a protest from the friends of democratic-republican government, or without a full knowledge of the probable consequences.

Hitherto we have been exempt from the maintenance of large standing armies and great navies, and

consequently the burden of taxation, while much greater at some periods than the real necessities of the public service required, has never been so heavy as seriously to impede the growth and prosperity of the country. Our energies have been devoted to the cultivation of the arts of peace, to the construction of great highways, to the development of our mineral resources, to the improvement of waterways, to agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and to the establishment of charities and institutions of learning, and all the other interests and objects which most distinguish the civilization of a peaceful American republic from that of the armed and fortified kingdoms and empires of the Old World. Under this policy our military and naval establishments have been comparatively inexpensive, and as a general rule they have practically constituted mere branches of the civil service. They have not dominated the country or materially influenced the course of public affairs, but have been subordinate to the civil authorities in practice as well as in theory. Fortunately for us, the militarism which constitutes the most conspicuous and apparently the most dangerous element in the social and political systems of France and the German Empire has not, up to the present time, asserted itself to any considerable extent in this country. But if we are to adopt and successfully maintain an imperial policy, the glory of the achievement will belong principally to the army and navy, and the people at large will simply enjoy the privilege of paying the cost. Each successful expedition, each forcible extension of our jurisdiction over an unwilling people, will add to the laurels of the military branches of the government, and the almost inevitable result will be that their social and political influence will grow until they overshadow all other

callings and professions. Military Senators and Representatives in Congress will enact laws for a military President to execute, and military Governors of States will not long perplex themselves with questions of civil law when the soldiery under their command can easily cut the knots with their swords. We will be more fortunate than the people of some other countries if our judicial tribunals, under the elective system, shall escape the influence of the military spirit and continue to administer justice between private individuals and between the government and its citizens according to the simple and conservative rules and processes of the common law of the land.

When territory is conquered or annexed, we must not only govern it, with or without the consent of its people, but we must also be prepared at all times to protect it against the possible encroachments of other powers; its cities and towns must be garrisoned by a sufficient military force, and its coasts must be fortified and guarded by a navy strong enough at least to meet any sudden emergency. This involves an enormous addition to our regular army, and such a permanent increase of our naval establishment as will keep it constantly upon a war footing. This drain upon our resources must be met immediately by exorbitant taxation upon the property of the people, and, sooner or later, by conscription of their persons; for great standing armies and navies cannot be permanently maintained by voluntary enlistment in a country where the opportunities for profitable employment are so great as they are here. The unwholesome climates of our tropical possessions will demand new victims every year, and thousands of our young men must be forcibly withdrawn from the productive industries of the country and sacrificed to the remorseless spirit of

imperialism, which has already ruined many nations and impoverished and oppressed many people. Our fathers made what they supposed to be a perpetual protest against it when they forcibly separated the colonies from the mother-country, and established institutions founded on the democratic principle that no people can be rightfully governed except by their own consent; but after the lapse of less than a hundred and twenty-five years we find great numbers of their descendants, inhabiting the country they redeemed, and living under the institutions they founded, openly repudiating the grounds upon which the Revolutionary war was fought, and insisting upon the right to conquer and annex territory and people without affording them the least opportunity to express their will upon the subject. There is absolutely no evidence worthy of consideration to show that a majority of the people of Hawaii or Cuba, or any other island proposed to be conquered or annexed, desire to be attached to the United States, while their character, habits, and past histories strongly conduce to prove that they greatly prefer to remain as they are, or establish independent governments of their own. So far as the example and influence of our republican institutions have educated the minds and encouraged the aspirations of mankind, a repudiation by the United States of the principle that all just governments must be founded upon the consent of the governed would set the world back more than a century, and all the arguments that have been presented, all the battles that have been fought, and all the progress that has been made in the long struggle to emancipate the people from the domination of self-constituted and hereditary rulers will be lost by a single false step taken in the delirium of triumph over a prostrate and dying monarchy. Better a thousand

times that monarchical Spain should continue to rule a people against their will than that the United States should usurp her place and hold them in subjection in the name of liberty and humanity.

Here on our own continent we are not only free from molestation by other powers, but free also from any obligation or interest to participate in their quarrels or wars abroad; but the adoption of the imperial policy of conquest and annexation beyond the conceded limits of our political influence will at once precipitate us, wholly unprepared, into the vortex of European and Asiatic complications, and it is not reasonable to suppose that we can successfully maintain our position without co-operating at times with one side or the other in all the controversies that now exist or that may hereafter arrive. We can neither extend the Monroe doctrine to our possessions in Europe and Asia nor maintain it here when we have once crossed the line which has heretofore separated us from the diplomacy and wars of rival nations beyond the seas. If we invade their domain we must leave behind us the traditions and policies of the past, and we must go with arms in our hands prepared to defend what we take against all comers. Presidential messages and proclamations, and even Congressional resolutions and statutes, will not preserve the balance of power abroad, or limit the ambitions of kings and emperors. Wise diplomacy, great armaments, enormous expenditures of money, and the most exacting system of taxation that can be devised will be necessary to establish and permanently maintain our position as a member of the powerful group of nations now and always contending among themselves for commercial and political supremacy. When we acquire territory we necessarily acquire an interest in all the questions affecting its

trade and its material development. The obligation to protect and promote the commercial and other interests of Honolulu and Manila will be precisely the same as the obligation to protect and promote the commercial and other interests of New York and New Orleans, and having extended our jurisdiction over them, we will be bound, by every consideration of honor and duty, to see that no unjust discriminations are made against them by the municipal or international regulations adopted by other countries. At the very outset we are likely to be confronted with the most serious questions growing out of the Chinese situation, and, in the unsettled state of affairs abroad, it is almost certain that other troublesome problems will be presented in the near future. Are we prepared to deal with them? If so, we must enter the field of European diplomacy at once and assume our share of responsibility for the adjustment of European interests, whether peaceably or otherwise. If not, we must, upon a confession of incapacity or indifference, sacrifice the interests of a people whom we have gone half-way round the globe to conquer and annex, and who by our action have been deprived of all other protection. It will be impossible to take part in the discussion and adjustment of European problems, whether they are commercial or political, without committing ourselves to the results, whatever they may be. The great questions of peace and war will no longer be determined exclusively by a consideration of our own interests or the judgment of our own people, but by the controlling influences of European intrigues and coalitions.

Already the most advanced advocates of imperialism, and even some who are opposed to it, are beginning to foresee the results of that policy and to suggest preparations to meet them; but one of the most serious

objections to their suggestion is that its adoption would probably provoke at once the very international entanglements which all true Americans desire to avoid. Coupled with the imperial policy, and, in fact, constituting a part of it, an alliance with Great Britain, it is contended, would make us strong enough to hold whatever we chose to take in any part of the world; but the fact seems to be overlooked that if Great Britain is to help us take care of our dependencies, we must help Great Britain take care of hers; and thus, while our power and prestige might be increased, our burdens would be multiplied many fold. Great Britain, by reason of her conspicuous position in Europe, her important colonial possessions in every quarter of the globe, and her aggressive commercial policy, is far more exposed to the danger of frequent wars than the United States, or at least far more than the United States have heretofore been under the wise counsels of our early statesmen. An alliance with Great Britain or any other power would necessarily impose upon us reciprocal obligations and duties, which, when once assumed, could not be disregarded without a breach of good faith, no matter what loss or damage a compliance with them might entail upon us. We have a memorable instance in our history where an alliance with a foreign power, formed during the struggle for independence, afterwards came very near embroiling us in the wars of Europe, and did, in fact, cause a serious rupture, if not actual war, between this country and the other party to the compact. The colonial alliance with France, had it not been for the wisdom and courage of Washington, would have drawn us into the mighty conflicts which convulsed the nations of Europe at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, and we

might then have shared the fate of the governments that perished by the sword or were extinguished by treaties and congresses which they were powerless to prevent. Although we escaped the wars, we did not escape all their consequences, and the United States, after the lapse of a hundred years, are still investigating and paying the claims of their own citizens for French spoliations of their commerce. It is best to keep our domestic affairs and the conduct of our foreign relations in our own hands under all circumstances; and if we distrust the power of our own government successfully to prosecute the policy of conquest and aggrandizement, that is a sufficient reason, if there were no other, for condemning the policy itself, but not by any means a sufficient reason for the formation of an alliance which would require us to assist another nation in extending or preserving its colonial possessions.

Alliances between independent nations, especially when their institutions and interests are dissimilar in any material respect, are always dangerous, even when they appear to be most necessary. Many of the great wars of the world have grown out of disagreements between the parties themselves concerning the character and extent of the obligations imposed upon them by the compact, and out of alleged breaches of good faith upon the part of one or the other; and considering the remoteness of the United States from the theatre of European and Asiatic strife, and the great number and importance of the questions likely to arise in which we could have no real concern, or in which, if concerned at all, our real interests might be opposed to those of our ally, it is, to say the least, highly probable that an alliance with any one of the great powers would not only involve us at once in the diplomatic

controversies and perhaps more serious contests with its rivals, but ultimately in a breach of friendly relations between the contracting parties themselves. Undoubtedly, if our traditional policy is to be abandoned, and an alliance is to be contracted with any foreign power, Great Britain is the nation with which we have the most interests and sentiments in common, and therefore the one to which we should look, above all others, for concert of action in matters affecting the general peace and progress of the world. But in order to secure this concert of action in all cases where it may be necessary or desirable, it is not incumbent upon us to tie ourselves hard and fast in advance by a solemn compact. Having a common language, religion, and jurisprudence, and, to a great extent, common interests in the promotion and extension of similar political institutions, the two countries are natural allies, and all that is required in order to make their power and influence practically controlling in international affairs is a frank recognition of this fact on both sides, and the cultivation of the fraternal feeling which it ought to inspire.

Instead of the indiscriminate denunciation and abuse which it has been the habit of a certain class of our legislators and politicians to indulge in for partisan purposes in the past, let them forego in the future the supposed advantages of appeals to the lowest passions and prejudices of the people, and devote themselves to the patriotic task of undoing their own mischievous work. Heretofore it has been impossible to carry on a discussion upon any public question in this country, especially if it related in any way to our economic policy, without having to meet the charge of subserviency to British interests, if not the charge of outright bribery with British gold; and some per-

verted imaginations have never failed to see the stealthy diplomacy of that government thwarting our purposes in even the most trivial enterprises at home or abroad. According to their view, no policy could possibly be right or beneficial to us if Great Britain was supposed to approve it, and no policy could possibly be wrong or injurious to us if Great Britain was supposed to disapprove it.

The sympathy manifested for us in the present war by the government and people of the mother-country is just what was expected by intelligent Americans who had not allowed themselves to be influenced by the reckless statements and inflammatory appeals of small politicians in and out of office, but it is none the less significant or gratifying for that reason. It will bring the two countries still closer together, and awaken in each a pride of race, a sense of power, and a spirit of moderation and justice in all matters of difference between themselves which will contribute far more to their mutual security and to the promotion of peace with other nations than any mere conventional alliance. When it is understood that there are to be no more wars between people of the Anglo-Saxon race, that all their differences not amicably adjusted by diplomacy will be permanently settled by arbitration, that they are thoroughly united by the ties of blood and a common heritage of free institutions, not for conquest or aggression of any kind, but for the promotion of peace and civilization, and that their combined influence will be exerted for these purposes only, all other nations will realize that a new force has been developed which cannot prudently be ignored in their schemes of aggrandizement in any part of the globe.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LOVE OF COUNTRY.

BY BISHOP SPALDING.

Love of country, like all love, springs from a desire for life, for wider and richer life. Life is possible only through communion with what nourishes it, with what is not itself. We see ourselves in the image reflected from the world on which we look, as by a mirror. We are what we are by virtue of the thousand influences which have acted upon us—our minds have been fashioned and colored by sun and moon and stars, by the vestures with which earth clothes herself as the seasons change, by rivers, oceans and mountains, by books we have read, by work we have done, by games we have played, by the good and the evil which have befallen us, by the men and women we have known, admired and loved, or feared and hated. All that we have seen, felt, suffered and done has helped to make us what we are. For good and for ill we are bound to the universe, and apart from it we can neither know nor love nor enjoy. Stars whose light no human eye has beheld help to hold us where we are; grasses and trees that flourished before man ever trod the earth, from the soil by which we are fed, the coal by which we are warmed and ministered to in a hundred ways. Nothing exists or lives in isolation, and as insight increases, the perception that all things are in union and inter-communion with one another grows clearer. It is only in

the lowest stage of thought that objects seem to stand out in separateness, apart from their relations. When we look a little deeper we see that certain relations at least enter as essential elements into all ideas of the objective world, and that all things are interdependent, are a system of forces moving and acting in unison. When we look still more profoundly we perceive within and beyond the world of relative things, the independent being who is life and mind, the absolute and eternal, creative energy, God, in whom and by whom the universe exists, who is Himself self-determined and self-active.

Hence the radical impulse in the craving for richer and wider life is a godward impulse. What we really long for, whether consciously or not, is divine life, immortal life; and we need no other proof of this than the unsatisfactoriness of all, even the highest, achievement. Nothing, once attained, corresponds to the dream which lured us to the pursuit, whether it be wealth, or power, or fame, or pleasure. When we seek ourselves through all the mazes of matter, we may end weary and satiated, but not satisfied. God alone is the infinite Other whom we need to fill and complete our lives. Hence religion is and has been the inexhaustible fountainhead of self-devotion—of the self-devotion of patriots and heroes, of saints and artists, of wives and mothers; for whoever loves truth or justice or beauty or goodness with a surpassing love, with a love which endures all things, renounces all things, if only it may attain its end, cannot but be inspired, strengthened and upheld by an enthusiasm which must be called religious. By such men barbarous tribes have been led to higher planes, states have been founded, just laws decreed, tyrants overthrown, and the arts and sciences created. For

this reason epochs of religious earnestness are epochs of advancing life; epochs of religious skepticism and indifference, epochs of decadence. There may still be, indeed, a gloss, a glitter, a polish, a material prosperity by which the frivolous and thoughtless are misled; but the power of heart and hope whereby man lives and is strong, is failing. Will is enfeebled, character is undermined, and there is a general falling away in thought, in language, in manners, in conduct, even though it be so gradual as to be imperceptible to the careless eye.

There is a higher love than love of country—the love of truth, the love of justice, the love of righteousness; and he alone is a patriot who is willing to suffer obloquy and the loss of money and friends, rather than betray the cause of truth, justice and righteousness, for only by being faithful to this can he rightly serve his country. Moral causes govern the standing and the falling of states as of individuals; and conquering armies move forward in vain, in vain the fleeting fabric of trade is spread, if a mortal taint within slowly moulder all. The national life is at fault if it be not in harmony with the eternal principles on which all right human life rests. The greatest and the noblest men when they meet rise into regions where all merely national distinctions are forgotten and transcended. In studying the works of a philosopher, a poet or a man of science we give little heed to what country he was born and lived in, so eager are we to learn the truth and beauty which he reveals—truth and beauty which are of no country, which are wide and all-embracing as the universe. In the presence of heroic virtue also, the national limitations disappear, that the god-like man, who belongs to all countries and ages, may stand forth in his proper light.

A man supremely endowed narrows his mind when he is less than universally human. What he says and does should make laws for all—those diviner laws which have their sanction in the common sense which makes the whole world akin. Patriotism as understood by the ancients is but a partial virtue. When it is most intense it is most narrow and intolerant. In Jerusalem, in Athens, in Rome, the city was the fatherland. It was the thought of Zion, and of Ziola's brook that flowed fast by the oracle of God, of the Acropolis, with its marvelous setting in the midst of the Attic plan, of the world mother, looking from her seven hills on the Tiber's tawny wave, that made the exiles waste away with repinings for home; and their passionate devotion to their country was rarely separable from a hatred of the foreign nature. Whoever was not a citizen was an enemy or a slave. The captive foe was treated with pitiless cruelty and the slave had no rights. We are separated from these ancient patriots less by the long lapse of time which has intervened than by the difference of spirit in which we look upon and love our country. For us the man is more than the citizen, humanity more sacred than nationality. To lead a man's life one must live for some one or something other than self. As we can see ourselves only in what is other, so we can find and love ourselves only in what is other than ourselves. To escape from the starved condition of the isolated, the individual is impelled to identify himself with larger unities—with the family, with the state, with mankind, with God. Now for the ancients the state was the ultimate unity in which a man could find and feel himself. Hence their aims and sympathies were partial and narrow. Their patriotism was more intense, but it was less rational, less moral, and therefore less

THE CATHEDRAL IN THE WALLED CITY OF MANILA, SHOWING EFFECT OF EARTHQUAKE.

enduring and less beneficent than ours.* It was not possible for them to identify themselves with the race, to recognize that all men are made of one blood, and that whenever one suffers injustice, wrong is done to all. But for us nationality has ceased to be the limit of individual sympathy, and the oppression of peoples, however remote, often affects us as though we ourselves had been injured; while noble words and heroic deeds, wherever and by whomever spoken or done, fill us with enthusiasm and gratitude. Many causes, of which the Christian religion is the deepest and most far-reaching, have led to the wider views and more generous appreciativeness of modern men. In looking to the one heavenly Father they are drawn together and held by ties, consecrated by faith and approved by reason. Science, which deals with laws that are universal, that act alike upon the farthest star and the grain of sand at our feet, on the face as on individuals, promotes this catholicity of feeling and interest. Our machinery, too, in bringing the ends of the world together, facilitates the intercourse of the peoples of the earth and thereby weakens their immemorial prejudices and hatreds. The commercial interdependence of the nations has a like tendency; while the constantly increasing influence of woman makes for a larger sympathy and love. No great movement can now long remain within the boundaries of the nation in which it originates. The questions of education, of labor, of the rights of woman, rouse attention and discussion in every civilized country. A new discovery or invention is at once heralded from land to land. The telegraph and the printing press mediate a rapid and continuous interchange of thought throughout the world, and thus help to make

us all, in a way never before possible, citizens of the world.

At the present moment America, if simple truth may be uttered without incurring the suspicion of conceit, represents the general tendency and sentiment of the modern age more than any other country. Here the national feeling is larger and more hospitable than anywhere else; here men of all tongues and races more easily find themselves at home than anywhere else. No other country is so attractive, no other affords in such fullness opportunity for self-activity in every sphere of endeavor, no other insures such complete civil and religious liberty. Nowhere else is there so much freedom from abuses which, because they are inveterate, seem to be sacred; nowhere else is there so much good will, so much readiness to help, so much general intelligence, such sanguine faith in the ability of an enlightened and religious people, who govern themselves, to overcome all obstacles and to find a remedy for whatever mishaps or evils may befall them. Here, too, more than elsewhere possibly, men feel that there is a higher love than the love of country, that the citizen can serve his country rightly only when he holds himself in vital communion with the eternal principles on which human life rests, and by which it is nourished. The American's loyalty to his country is first of all loyalty to truth, to justice, to humanity. He feels that its institutions can be enduring only when they are founded on religion and morality. He is less inspired by the fortune of the Republic, its material advantages and possibilities, than by his spiritual significance and destiny. He is, indeed, filled with a sense of gladness when he beholds it stretch from ocean to ocean, from the lakes to the gulf; when he sees the northern pine salute the

southern palm as a fellow-citizen, when he looks on its prairies teeming with harvests sufficient to feed the world, on its mountains and plains filled with silver and gold, with iron and copper, with coal and oil. But he is less impressed by this geographical and material greatness and splendor than by the intellectual and moral conditions which America presents. Nature is fruitful in vain, where man is contemptible. The palace makes ridiculous the occupant who is a beggar in mind and spirit. To no purpose is the country great, if the men are small. Life is more than life's circumstance, man more than his environment. The American patriot then more than others seeks grounds for his love of country chiefly in the world of man's higher being. For him, freedom, knowledge, truth, justice, good will, humanity, are the essential needs; and it is a little thing that America offers facilities for satisfying the physical and material wants, if here the soul is starved. Democracy itself is not an end, but a means. The end is a nobler, wiser, stronger, more beneficent kind of man and woman. How shall such men and women be formed except by opportunity—opportunity for all of worship, of education, of culture, of work that strengthens and purifies, while it creates material comfort and independence? If a nobler race is to spring forth in this new world, all the influences that are active and potent in the national life must conspire to form public opinion, by which in the end we are all ruled—a public opinion which shall be favorable to pure religion, to the best education and to sound morality. The better kind, however otherwise they may disagree, must unite and support one another in ceaseless efforts to create such a public opinion. They must not merely lead loyal, brave, chaste and helpful lives, but they

must so live that the atmosphere in which they move shall receive from them a magnetic quality—the power to stimulate all who breathe it to nobler thoughts and loves, to a deeper and more tender solicitude for the rights and needs of all men, of women and children, of the sick and forsaken, of the criminal and captive.

Goethe, who never utters a foolish thing, says that in times of peace patriotism properly consists merely in this—that each one sweep before his own door, attend to his own business, learn his own lesson, that it may be well in his own household; and what he says, if but partial, is nevertheless essential truth. He himself, indeed, even in times of war and disaster for the Fatherland, seemed to act on this principle, and he has consequently been accused by some of his own countrymen of a lack of patriotism, though in fact he did more to make possible the political union of Germany than any other man; for he, more than any other, awakened the self-consciousness of the German people, and thus inspired them with a more intense longing for national unity. A good patriot is first of all a good man—true to himself and true in his relations to his fellowmen. If false to himself, he is false to all. If he love not rightly his father and mother, his wife and child, the neighbor who dwells beside him, how shall he rightly love his country? If he respect not the dignity of human nature in himself, but degrades it by drunkenness or lying or sensuality or dishonesty, how shall he feel a genuine and generous interest in the commonweal, and earnestly strive to do his part in correcting the evils and abuses which impair or threaten the national life and prosperity? It will, indeed, be easy for him to make his patriotism a theme for declamation, and easy, too, to throw suspicion on the loyalty of others, but if he is not a real

man it is not possible that he should be a real lover of his country. Whoever deliberately wrongs an American, wrongs America. The worst enemy of the country is not the drunkard, but the buyer of votes, whether at the polls or in council chambers or in legislative halls; not the petty thief, but the capitalist whose insatiate greed urges him on to crush all competitors; not the selfish man who cares not at all for the general good, but the politician who makes his patriotism a cloak to cover him while he sneaks into public office, which he prostitutes to private gain; not he who refuses his assent to measures, however popular, unless he can give it honestly, but the demagogue who is ever ready to run and cry with the crowd; not the ranting anarchist, but the editor who for money impugns the known truth. But the beef embalmer has attained the highest point of traitorous infamy, beyond which it is not possible to go—he poisons the wells, not to destroy the enemy, but the soldiers who fight their country's battles. The saloon is bad—the worst evil, however, resulting from it is not drunkenness, but political corruption; for if just laws were rightly administered the saloon would cease to be a source of degradation and ruin.

Our civilization is still incomplete—it is, as Emerson says, "A wild democracy; the riot of mediocrities and dishonesties and fudges." If numbers were enough, if machinery were enough to constitute a great people, for us the question would be settled; but the kind of man, not number or wealth or machinery, is what we have to consider, and it is a favorable omen that we are not self-complacent, that our defects and faults are not hidden from us. We suffer from the absence of the discipline of respect, from a certain hardness and materialism, from a fondness

for exaggeration and boastfulness. The fear of Demos and the demagogue prevents us from speaking the simple and salutary language of truth when far-reaching and vital issues are in question. We are so accustomed to bow to the will of majorities, that we easily forget that votes count for nothing when we have to consider what is true and wise and just. Here there is every likelihood that the minority is right and the majority wrong. The multitude everywhere and in all ages are dominated by the present. They are unwilling to wait, unwilling to deny themselves now that they may become capable of higher things hereafter. The success of a day robs them of the glory of a lifetime. They are fickle, because, since they see only what is immediately before them, their opinions change as the road turns. They are selfish because they are short-sighted and but feebly influenced by large ideas and generous aims. Being a crowd they are easily hypnotized and are quickly hurried from one extreme to another. They follow the cry of chance leaders, and being little able to think for themselves, they resent independence of thought in those things precisely in which such thought is most needed, for in the deepest and most critical questions concerning the national life and policy what is popular is rarely what is most wise. The voice of the most serious minds is not only not heeded; it is drowned in the clamor and vituperation of those who are themselves led by men who know little and who have at heart chiefly their own popularity and profit. We suffer ourselves to be hypnotized by glaring type and loud shouting, as was shown in the silver campaign, when the bimetallists would have won had it not been for Hanna's millions and the terrorism exercised by the employers of labor and the capitalists. A false

opinion is created and we are commanded to accept it without question as the will of the people; and our highest officials, when they yield to the outcry of the mob, are commended for their wisdom and patriotism. Our best minds do not guide us, our best men do not govern us. By faithful adherence to the principles with which our national life began, we have grown to be a prosperous and mighty people. We have been taught to cherish these principles as being scarcely less sacred than our religion. Our climate is healthful, our soil fertile, our territory is as large as all Europe. Our industry, intelligence and mechanical skill have in the brief space of a century made us the richest of the nations, while the growth of our population has been phenomenal. If success be an argument for continuing in a given line of policy and conduct, no people ever had so good a reason for following in the old way. Our success has been marvelous, but after all, it is still only the success of an experiment. It has not yet been proved that a stable and enduring civilization can be built on a democracy such as ours. We occupy a continent stretching east and west, north and south for thousands of miles. It is not easy to reconcile the interests of regions lying so remote from one another. Our population is composed not only of heterogeneous elements from Europe, but also of a large and increasing and but partially assimilated body of Africans. While our national progress has been great, our love of principle and our strength of moral conviction seem to have grown feebler. More and more we are dominated by greed, more and more we become reckless of the means by which money is obtained. Vast fortunes are quickly heaped up, but those who toil are little benefited. Our political and commercial life is undermined by dishonesty, and we

are becoming so callous or so reckless that abuses which endanger our very existence as a nation give us little concern.

In the presence of such conditions is it possible to hesitate at all as to the course to be pursued? We have a compact territory sufficient to support three hundred or more millions of human beings. Should it be possible that we ever need more, there is a region as large, with a population much like our own, adjoining our northern boundary. Why, then, should we go to the ends of the earth to take forcible possession of islands lying in remote oceans under tropical skies, inhabited by barbarous or savage tribes, where both race and climate preclude the hope of ever attaining to any high degree of culture? Why should we own Cuba? We do not need it; its population is undesirable, and to hold it we must increase our army and navy, and gradually drift into a militarism which must threaten our most cherished institutions? What can imperialism bring us except the menace of ruin? As men are born to die, states rise to fall. Nineveh, Tyre, Babylon, Persia, Egypt and Greece, each had its day. Spain, once the mightiest power in the world, is now weak and helpless. For all the end must come, but who that loves his country would not remove the final catastrophe to some remote and still remoter day? States must perish, but empires are more surely and more quickly brought to ruin. They rise suddenly, and suddenly fall. The great empires now existing are of comparatively recent origin. The Russian has lasted about two hundred years, the British not a hundred and fifty, the Ottoman would long since have fallen had it not been upheld by the jealousy of the other powers. Roman patriotism was dead when Rome became an empire, and its history

under the Caesars saddens and appals. The Saracenic empire lasted three hundred years; the Spanish three hundred, and there seems to be no good reason for thinking that the British shall endure so long. England was driven into imperialism by the instinct of self-preservation. The little island, confronted by powerful and warlike nations, would have been conquered again and again, as it was by the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans, had it not, in becoming an imperial power, built up a navy, with which to defy the world and to girdle itself as with triple walls of adamant. But we are separated by thousands of miles from every other great nation. A coalition of all Europe against us, if such a thing were possible, need not alarm us. In self-defense we should prove invincible. In America the republic rises, in solitary grandeur, like a majestic dome, dwarfing all else from Behring's Strait to Cape Horn, without a compeer, without a rival. Our corn feeds Europe, our cotton gives her operatives employment, and from year to year the export of our manufactures increases. We are free from the jealousies and hatreds, the standing armies and oppressive taxation, the menaces of revolution and war, by which the old world is kept in constant turmoil and peril. What country ever had such a fortune in its position, in its resources, in its possibilities?

Unlike other nations, we began as a civilized people. Unlike other nations, we began with freedom. Our progress, if we except the civil war, which was the inevitable result of a taint implanted in our constitution, has been along the ways of peace; our prosperity has been wrought by obedience to wise and just laws, by industry and intelligence. Our continent has seemed great and good enough for us; and while we

have sworn to keep it free from the interference of foreign powers, we have refused to cast covetous and lustful eyes upon the outlying regions of the earth. Conquest, and forcible annexation and military rule are in opposition alike to our traditions and our fundamental principles of government. Is it creditable that the sentiment of the country has, in these vital matters, undergone a sudden and radical change, and that we are now prepared to abandon our unique and providential position in the civilized world, to rush madly in the way of conquest and imperialism, with the inevitable result of becoming involved in the hatreds, alliances and wars of Europe? It is not credible. The evil that seems to threaten us is but a passing frenzy, an outburst of popular enthusiasm which will soon give place to sober second thought. The leaders have believed that they were yielding to the popular will, and the people have believed that they were following the guidance of the men in whose hands they had placed the conduct of national affairs. But this misunderstanding can not continue. Spain deserved to be driven from her possessions. Her rule was unjust and cruel. We have done a noble work, but having done it, we shall not be unwise or unpatriotic enough to jeopardize the fortune and the future of our own country by annexing the conquered islands and so becoming an imperial power. Here, at our hands, lies the task God sets us. It is the development of our inner life, the enriching of our minds, the purification of our hearts, the education of ourselves through liberty and labor, the reform of our politics, the rooting out of cant, lying, vulgarity, greed and dishonesty, of drunkenness and lust; the correcting of our extravagant estimate of the value of what is merely matter, of life's accompaniments as distin-

guished from life itself, which is thought and love, strength and courage, patience and forbearance. We have to learn that what makes a millionaire spoils a man, that a people who think trade and commerce the one thing needful have no permanent place in history, because they have no influence on the spiritual, which is the real life of man. The people that is the bearer of the largest thought, the deepest love, the holiest faith lives and works forever in the race, while merchants and traders perish and are forgotten like the wares they deal in. See how quickly elated and how quickly cast down are they whose hope is in riches—for riches are akin to fear, to change and death, while they who live for truth and righteousness move forward, serene and unafraid, upborne by the unseen powers, for truth and righteousness are life. Beggars and outcasts, if but some divine thought or immortal hope upwelled within, have survived the fall of empires, the ruin of civilizations and the utter vanishment of the people from whom they sprang. We have to learn how to be happy and noble; for, as Ruskin says, till we have learned how to be happy and noble we have not much to tell, even to red Indians; and he goes on: "To watch the corn grow, and the blossoms set; to draw hard breath over ploughshare or spade; to read, to think, to love, to hope, to pray—these are the things that make men happy. * * * The world's prosperity or adversity depends upon our knowing and teaching these few things; but upon iron or glass or electricity or steam, in no wise." The Absolute, the Highest is a Person, and the civilization which issues in the noblest personalities is the best. By them we estimate the worth of our nature, by them the value of our political and religious institutions. But noble men and women do not spring forth in iso-

lation. As an individual, man is insignificant; in fact he cannot become human at all, except in a social environment, in a medium in which he is made partaker of the life of the race, receiving the thoughts, hopes and beliefs, the aims, aspirations and ideals which are the food of the spirit of man, of that which places him in opposition to nature and lifts him above its fatal laws. It is the patriot's business to strengthen and purify the institutions by which the citizen is educated—the family, the church, the state. To whom the life of the home is not sacred nothing is sacred. The child that does not drink pure love and religion from this fountain-head can never be rightly educated. It is in vain that we build churches and schools, if the home does not fill them with teachable hearts and minds. It is here that each one receives his better self —the self that makes him conscious that he is a center towards which infinities converge, where truth and justice and love are felt to be the real and permanent good. Patriotism, like charity, begins at home. It is not a philosophy, it is a sentiment inspired above all by the mothers of a people from whom also we receive religion and morality, which Washington calls the indispensable supports of political prosperity; and, therefore, he refuses to give the title of patriot to those who "labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens."

The end of all worthy struggle is to establish morality as the basis of individual and national life, and morality can be firmly founded only on pure religion. To make righteousness prevail, to make justice reign, to spread beauty, gentleness, wisdom and peace, to widen opportunity, to increase good will, to move in the light of higher thoughts and larger

hopes, to encourage science and art, to foster industry and thrift, education and culture, reverence and obedience, purity and love, honesty, sobriety and the disinterested devotion to the common good—this is the patriot's aim, this his ideal. And if even a minority, a remnant, work in this spirit, and strive with this purpose, the star of the republic, which rose to herald the dawn of a new and better era, shall not throw its parting rays on the ruins of an empire, stained with blood

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ANTI-IMPERIALISTIC ADDRESSES.

ADDRESS ADOPTED BY THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTIC LEAGUE.

FEBRUARY 10, 1899.

The full ratification of the Treaty with Spain will cause a technical change in the relations of the United States to the Philippine Islands, but will afford no reason for any change of the purposes of the Anti-Imperialists in regard to the future of the islands, nor will it in the least affect the clear duty of this Republic.

We are now engaged in warfare with the inhabitants of those islands. It is unprofitable to discuss the question as to which party began hostilities. No other result could have been expected, when the lines of two opposing military forces were held so close and in such tense condition that little was needed to cause an explosion.

Certain facts, however, are beyond dispute: that Aguinaldo was brought to the islands by our own warship, that his aid was accepted and desired in our military operations against the Spaniards, and that hopes of independence were encouraged by our consuls and other officers. It is equally indisputable that a parliament of the islands, organized by representatives elected by one hundred and eighty-six towns and provinces, chose Aguinaldo President and framed a constitution, which was promulgated, defining the

powers and duties of the separate departments of the government with remarkable clearness and ability; that the government so formed beyond a doubt represented fairly the people of the islands and probably with quite as much fairness as the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, in 1775, represented the people of the thirteen States.

It is also undeniable that on January 5 President McKinley issued a proclamation through General Otis, declaring that on the 10th of the previous month the Philippine Islands had been ceded to this country by Spain by the signature of the Treaty of Paris, and further ordered him to extend the military government of the United States "to the whole of the ceded territory," and to demand the surrender of Iloilo, which was then held by the Filipinos in an orderly manner by capture from the Spaniards.

It cannot be claimed in law that this assumption of power was warranted in advance of the ratification of the Treaty by both parties, and there can be no doubt that the arbitrary claim greatly aggravated the people of the islands, whose hope of independence seemed thus rudely destroyed.

No declaratory resolution as to the future of the islands was assented to by the Administration before the ratification of the Treaty by the Senate, and none has been made since.

Any right that we assert to ownership of the Philippines must rest, therefore, either upon conquest or upon purchase from their Spanish oppressors, or upon both, and in any case it is, as we believe, inconsistent with the principles of this Republic, and fraught with danger to its peace and to the peace of the world

The first result we already witness, a war of subjugation, which must embitter the people we seek to

SCENE IN THE INTERIOR OF LUZON ISLAND.

rule, and which, however successful, must bring disaster and death to our soldiers, and unmeasured cost to our people.

Profoundly impressed with the seriousness of the situation, it is the purpose of the Anti-Imperialists to continue the circulation of literature, to assist in the formation of leagues, and by public meetings, and every proper means known to a free people, to agitate for the revival in the land of the spirit of Washington and Lincoln, to protest against a spirit of militarism and force, to oppose the colonial idea and a permanently large standing army, and to assert the vital truths of the Declaration of Independence embodied in the Constitution and indissolubly connected with the welfare of this Republic.

They urge, therefore, all lovers of freedom, without regard to party associations, to co-operate with them to the following ends:

First. That our government shall take immediate steps toward a suspension of hostilities in the Philippines and a conference with the Philippine leaders, with a view to preventing further bloodshed upon the basis of a recognition of their freedom and independence as soon as proper guaranties can be had of order and protection to property.

Second. That the Congress of the United States shall tender an official assurance to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that they will encourage and assist in the organization of such a government in the islands as the people thereof shall prefer, and that upon its organization in stable manner the United States, in accordance with its traditional and prescriptive policy in such cases, will recognize the independence of the Philippines and its equality among nations, and gradually withdraw all military and naval forces.

The above address has been prepared by the Anti Imperialist League, whose officers are as follows:

President, George S. Boutwell.
Vice-Presidents: Grover Cleveland, George F. Edmunds, John Sherman, Henry Codman Potter, H. S. Pingree, Samuel Gompers, John G. Carlisle, Andrew Carnegie, Charles Francis Adams, Carl Schurz, Reverdy Johnson, Samuel Bowles, Edward Atkinson, James C. Carter, John C. Bullitt, Patrick A. Collins, Herbert Myrick, Theodore L. Cuyler.
Treasurer, Francis A. Osborn.
Secretary, Erving Winslow.
Executive Committee: Chairman, Winslow Warren; president, secretary, treasurer, ex-officio, William Endicott, Jr., James J. Myers, Albert S. Parsons, David Greene Haskins, Jr., J. P. Munroe.

EXTENT OF EMPIRE DOES NOT MAKE US A WORLD POWER.

BY REV. GEORGE C. LORIMER, D.D.

THANKSGIVING DAY SERMON DELIVERED AT TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON.

"There are strange rumors as to what the present shall develop. Among the many statements made both at home and abroad is that we have become a world power. The accession of territory is what some say has made us great. Yet I maintain that no accession of territory makes us a world power. Were we to double the extent of all our possessions it would not add one jot to our inherent strength and greatness. Let us not confuse ourselves. If we do we will gravitate toward that national heresy—material prosperity. Greatness does not lie in coffers or territory, but it lies in the men and women of a nation and in their ideals and acts.

"Extension of territory does not make a world

power. It may even be a hindrance to it. We ought to remember the words of Pericles to his followers: 'I adjure thee, do not extend the frontiers of the empire. Defend them, but do not extend them, for in proportion as you extend them will your defense of them be weak.'

"I think, too, that we may extend too much. Here is where I want to lay emphasis. Extent of empire does not make us a world power.

"This word imperialism that has been used so much of late I do not like. It is used in many ways. It is used to denote an indefinite change in policy. I object to the word. I abominate it. I have no place in my vocabulary for the word, for I find it charged through and through with threatenings, if brought to these shores. The word is dangerous. Correct thinking requires correct terminology.

"We have high ideals. A nation is great as it clings to its high ideals. Ideals are ever to be placed above party. Ideals are great things and parties are rubbish. The danger is that the word imperialism will rise and rise until it obscures ideals.

"Since this talk of imperialism I have noticed that more colored people have been shot down South, and that even in Illinois there has been an appeal to musketry. What is the cause of it? It is a poor reason that applies to the Pacific and not to the Atlantic. If we are to put an army in the Philippines to rule those people why shall not the rifle rule the South?

"No; imperialism misrepresents American ideas. You cannot follow it out without reaping its evils here in our own land, the evils of militarism, of suppression of ideas and suppression of principles worth more than all the Philippines and the Cubas combined."

ARE MISSIONARIES "IMPERIALISTS?"

IN A LETTER TO BOSTON HERALD BY REV. JAMES L. BARTON, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

It is not my custom to write letters to newspapers, but I feel constrained to send you this note at this time because of an editorial in Wednesday morning's Herald on "Religion and Imperialism," in which you state that: "It is worthy of notice that the most active of those in this country interested in missionary efforts are also the strongest advocates of an extension of the influence and authority of the United States over what have been in the past foreign countries."

You also state that: "Those who have been personally engaged in foreign missionary work are, so far as they have declared themselves, imperialists by a very large majority."

I cannot speak for missionaries of other mission boards, nor am I in a position to speak for all the five hundred and forty missionaries of our own board, but I know the opinion of a large number of the missionaries of our board and of others, and I do not know one who is in favor of an imperialistic policy; and, more than this, I have never heard this policy advocated by the officers of our board or of any other, and I am very certain that, were that policy entertained, it would have found utterance in my hearing.

On the other hand, I have constantly heard the officers and missionaries of the American board express regret that the policy of imperialism was likely to prevail. Hitherto our missionaries have gone to the ends of the earth carrying on their work, and it has never been charged upon them that they were the forerun-

ners of the colonies to be planted, which in turn were to lead to a protectorate from the home country, if not annexation. Missionaries from England, Germany and France have been open to these charges, and thereby their influence has been greatly narrowed and their efforts misinterpreted, while our own missionaries have been entirely unhampered.

I think I state what would be most generally received by the officers and members of our own board when I say we should be most loth to ask the extension of the American protectorate over any non-Christian country on the ground that thus our missionaries would be more free to carry on their work We believe that it would be most disastrous to our work to have this step taken, for it would be impossible to separate in the minds of the people missionary enterprise from government interference. It would give the appearance of the propagation of Christianity and the establishment of Christian institutions through government aid.

We do not believe in this, and want to avoid any such appearance, both before the people to whom we are attempting to carry our best American Christian civilization, and before the world, which is quick to criticise missionary effort and sometimes eager to misinterpret missionary motives.

ADDRESS TO THE CONVENTION OF THE EPISCOPALIAN DIOCESE.

BY RIGHT REV. HENRY C. POTTER, D.D., BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

There could not be a more complete or more perilous inversion of the whole moral, social, political situation! The nation has had much, during the past few months, to blind and to intoxicate it. It has won

an easy victory over an effete and decrepit adversary, in which no splendors of individual heroism, no triumphs of naval skill—and in these we may indulge a just pride—ought to blind our eyes to the fact that we have had a very easy task against a very feeble foe. And now, with unexpected fruits of victory in our hands, what, men are asking, are we going to do with them?

Nay, rather, the solemn question is, What are they going to do with us? Upon what wild course of so-called imperialism are they going to launch a people, many of whom are dizzy already with the dream of colonial gains, and who expect to repeat in distant islands some such history as our conquered enemy wrote long ago in blood and plunder in her colonies here and in South America? We have our Congress to direct this race for empire, and our gaunt and physically wrecked sons and brothers by tens of thousands at home to show us how they will do it.

At such a time, as never before, the Church of God is called upon, in the pulpit and by every agency at her command, to speak the words of truth and soberness, and to reason of righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come—a judgment for nations as well as individuals—till impetuosity is sobered and chastened; and until a people in peril of being wrecked upon an untried sea can be made to pause and think. The things that this community and this nation alike supremely need are not more territory, more avenues of trade, more places for place-hunters, more pensions for idlers, more subject races to prey upon, but a dawning consciousness of what, in individual and in national life, are a people's indispensable moral foundations—those great spiritual forces on which alone men and nations are built.

THE QUESTION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

BY PROF. GEORGE P. FISHER, YALE COLLEGE, CONGREGATIONALIST.

The discussion respecting the Philippines may be simplified by distinctly considering, in the first place, whether the permanent possession of these islands by the United States is, or is not, in itself, desirable. That is to say, would it be an advantage to this country to incorporate in its political system and govern these remote islands, with their many millions of non-Caucasian inhabitants? Had this question been proposed before the war with Spain began, who doubts that a negative answer would have been rendered by our people by common consent? If this annexation was undesirable then, so far as the well-being of this country is concerned, no reason can be given why it is not just as undesirable now. Evidently it is felt to be an evil by the advocates of "expansion" generally, for they constantly fell back for the defense of their position on the alleged call of humanity, and the alleged cruelty of leaving the Filipinos in the lurch. In other words, the common argument heard of late is that there is nothing that we can do except to embark in this new policy of "colonialism" or "imperialism," or whatever else it may be called. It is difficult to avoid seeing its incongruity with the principles, the true spirit, and the whole history of our national polity. It is plain that the extension of our boundaries, in the past, to include territories adjacent, sparsely inhabited, and destined to be settled by people of our own race—territories judged capable of being developed into states homogeneous with the previously existing states of the Union—furnishes no analogy to the astounding project of establishing an empire peopled by

aliens in blood, at best half-civilized, on the other side of the globe. Who professes to expect that the Philippines will ever be fit to become mates of the states of the republic, and as such to send their Senators and Representatives to the National Legislature? Yet one of the greatest perils connected with the scheme of expansion is, that if it be carried out, and if these communities of Malays and savages should be raised some inches above their present grade of intelligence and character, the exigencies of party will prove strong enough to secure their reception into the family of states. We have already had instances of the premature admission of states, in obedience to an assumed political necessity, which justify such an apprehension.

Well, if the Philippines are not to be evolved into states, they must be subject to our sovereignty, a foreign sovereignty, with methods of government the opposite of those to which we are accustomed under our republican institutions. It is hardly conceivable that the exercise of those methods, and the resulting familiarity with them, should not react disastrously upon the spirit and methods of free, constitutional administration at home. The subjection of the Filipinos, if they are not to become our political equals, must be in reality, for an indefinite period, their subjection to foreign masters. We ought not to hide from ourselves the danger that commercial greed, or other impulses, perhaps worse, may kindle among us an ambition for further conquests. Political complications and contests with European powers are likely to spring up in the exercise of government by deputies in that distant region, considering the character of the motley tribes that inhabit these islands. But we hear on every hand the question, What shall we do with

them? The first thing to do is unequivocally to acknowledge that the prolonged exercise of a sovereignty of this nature on our part is in the highest degree undesirable—that it is something fraught with evils and dangers. It is very often, if not always, true that "Where there is a will, there is a way." The course that we are pledged to take in reference to Cuba shows that another method of procedure, besides that of the advocates of "expansion" and "colonialism," is possible. What is wanted is that the country should set its face openly and resolutely against that avowed reversal of American policy which is popularly termed "imperialism"—the acquisition and government of dependencies, not states in embryo. There are welcome signs that the national restlessness in which this new movement has its principal source, is now abating. With its disappearance, we shall probably no longer hear protests against "isolation," by which is meant the habit of the nation in the past to mind its own business, in pursuance of the wise and statesmanlike counsels of the founders of the republic. Their advice was to set free the wings of commerce, but to shun political entanglements. To the observance of this advice our national prosperity has been largely due. It would be a great pity to let even a well meant but mistaken philanthropy seduce us to forsake this path.

NO IMPERIALISM SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED.

BY REV. DR. THOMAS J. CONATY,

RECTOR OF CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

It was never intended in our scheme of government that we should become imperialists for territory, and

no imperialism should be recognized except the imperialism of ideas in self-government and the imperialism that comes with trade. We have no mission to settle the political differences of the world, except by advice and example—never as conquerors. Large standing armies are the accompaniments and the curse of absolutism; there is no place for them in a democracy. We have serious vital problems to work out among ourselves. Let us fear an increased greed of power. There is danger in departing from our ideals and allowing grasping syndicates and political adventurers to lead us into the governing of people who are as much entitled to self-government as we are. Colonies and alliances are foreign to the ideals of American government.

SUCCESS AS A MISSIONARY NATION.

BY REV. DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D., OF WORCESTER, MASS.

It has been reported that President McKinley has been mainly influenced in his policy for the annexation of the Philippines by the attitude, real or supposed, of the religious people of the country. If this is the fact, these people are in a position of grave responsibility. Are they prepared in the supposed interests of philanthropy and Christian missions to back the administration up in a course "of forcible annexation" of the Philippines, which the President himself defined as "criminal aggression"?

One can understand how ministers and missionaries could join with philanthropists in upholding the administration in making war on Spain for the liberation of Cuba from an intolerable tyranny. But when in the face of the solemn pledge that we did this solely

in the interests of humanity, and that we would not acquire territory, we compel Spain to cede to us Porto Rico and the Philippines, and send a large army and navy to force the Filipinos to annexation and submission to our authority, it is a little difficult to see how the good ministers and deacons, the pious editors and missionary secretaries, can bid the President God-speed in this business.

The fact is, it is conquest that we are embarked upon now. And when you try to make missions the object for which you carry on conquest, you have crushed the whole spirit and enterprise of missions.

To affirm the contrary is to go back to the dark ages when priests urged the soldier and the torturer to force their victims into submission to the church with sword and firebrand.

Abundant and convincing reasons are given why we should keep our hands off from the Filipinos, except to co-operate with them by our counsel and help in getting them on their feet. If we persist in annexing them, subjugating them and governing them as dependents, it will lay upon us an enormous cost that will be felt as a burden by every one, and will rob us of much of our singular advantage among the nations. It will force us into international complications in which war will be a constant menace. It will deal a grievous, if not a fatal blow to the foundations of our government, to our integrity, self-respect and power as a free people, and will destroy our pre-eminent influence as a nation set for the inspiration of intelligence, liberty and righteousness in the world. It will reverse the main currents of our whole history, and will give the lie to our proudest professions.

These considerations ought to appeal to all sensible people, especially to those who claim to be Chris-

tian. They ought to see that to have all, or any, of these things result, will be so far to limit their power to carry forward the kingdom of Christ in this and in every other land.

But if none of these things move them, if they still are under the sentimental delusion that even at the cost of these tremendous sacrifices, amounting to the destruction, or at least impairment of our most cherished possessions, God is calling us, for the sake of the spread of the Gospel, to annex the Philippines, then let them be sure of one thing, that the Kingdom of Christ is never set forward by the hands of those who are bent upon selfish aggression.

If we impose ourselves upon the Filipinos, they will hate us and our religion, and they ought to, for if our religion takes us there to beat them down into our vassals with cannon and bayonet, it will be a hateful religion, whatever pious professions we may make about it.

It seems strange that the brethren cannot see what has given us success as a missionary nation—success in carrying our education, our philanthropies, our hopes of betterment, our Gospel, to the ends of the earth, and making us, in all the nobler senses of the phrase, "a world power," has been the fact that we were not a warlike, quarrelsome, violently aggressive, and conquering nation.

No demand of humanity or Christianity can be strong enough to lead us to give up this advantage, for when we give it up we shall be neither humane nor Christian, but simply selfish.

M'ENERY AND BACON RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolution introduced by Mr. McEnery, of Louisiana, was adopted by the Senate after the ratification of the Treaty:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States; but it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands.

The following amendment, originally offered as a resolution by Mr. Bacon, of Georgia, was defeated by the vote of Vice-President Hobart:

Resolved further, That the United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said islands, and assert their determination, when a stable and independent government shall have been erected therein, entitled in the judgment of the Government of the United States to recognition as such, to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people.

The Democratic caucus of the House of Representatives afterwards endorsed the Bacon resolution.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE GOSPEL OF FORCE.

BY BERTRAND SHADWELL, CHICAGO.

Take up the sword and rifle,
  Send forth your ships with speed,
To join the nations' scramble,
  And vie with them in greed;
Go find your goods a market,
  Beyond the western flood,
The heathen who withstand you
  Shall answer it in blood.

Take up the sword and rifle,
  For so does all the world,
There's none shall dare upbraid you,
  When once your flag's unfurled,
The race is to the swiftest,
  The battle to the strong,
Success is the criterion,
  None cares to count the wrong.

Take up the sword and rifle,
  And know no fear or pause,
What though your hands be bloody,
  Who calls ye to the laws?
The ports ye wish to enter,
  The roads ye wish to tread,
Make them with heathen living,
  Mark them with heathen dead.

Take up your sword and rifle,
  Rob every savage race,
Annex their lands and harbors,
  For this is Christian grace.
E'en though ye slaughter thousands,
  Ye still shall count it gain;
If ye extend your commerce,
  Who dreads the curse of Cain?

Take up the sword and rifle,
  Still keep your conscience whole—
So soon is found an unction
  To soothe a guilty soul.
Go with it to your Maker,
  Find what excuse ye can—
Rob for the sake of justice,
  Kill for the love of man.

APPENDIX.

PROTOCOL OF AGREEMENT
BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.

Signed at Washington August 12, 1898.

PROTOCOL.

William R. Day, Secretary of State of the United States, and His Excellency Jules Cambon, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of France at Washington, respectively possessing for this purpose full authority from the Government of the United States and the Government of Spain, have concluded and signed the following articles, embodying the terms on which the two governments have agreed in respect to the matters hereinafter set forth, having in view the establishment of peace between the two countries, that is to say:

ARTICLE I.

Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

ARTICLE II.

Spain will cede to the United States the island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and also an island in the Ladrones, to be selected by the United States.

ARTICLE III.

The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines.

ARTICLE IV.

Spain will immediately evacuate Cuba, Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West

Indies; and to this end each Government will, within ten days after the signing of this protocol, appoint Commissioners, and the Commissioners so appointed shall, within thirty days after the signing of this protocol, meet at Havana for the purpose of arranging and carrying out the details of the aforesaid evacuation of Cuba and the adjacent Spanish islands; and each Government will, within ten days after the signing of this protocol, also appoint other Commissioners, who shall, within thirty days after the signing of this protocol, meet at San Juan, in Porto Rico, for the purpose of arranging and carrying out the details of the aforesaid evacuation of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies.

ARTICLE V.

The United States and Spain will each appoint not more than five commissioners to treat of peace, and the commissioners so appointed shall meet at Paris not later than October 1, 1898, and proceed to the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty of peace, which treaty shall be subject to ratification according to the respective constitutional forms of the two countries.

ARTICLE VI.

Upon the conclusion and signing of this protocol hostilities between the two countries shall be suspended, and notice to that effect shall be given as soon as possible by each Government to the commanders of its military and naval forces.

Done at Washington in duplicate, in English and in French, by the undersigned, who have hereunto set their hands and seals, the 12th day of August, 1898.

(Seal.) WILLIAM R. DAY.

(Seal.) JULES CAMBON.

TREATY OF PEACE

OF DECEMBER 10, 1898.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN REGENT OF SPAIN, IN THE NAME OF HER AUGUST SON, DON ALFONSO XIII., desiring to end the state of war now existing between the two countries, have for that purpose appointed as Plenipotentiaries:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

WILLIAM R. DAY, CUSHMAN K. DAVIS, WILLIAM P. FRYE, GEORGE GRAY, and WHITELAW REID, citizens of the United States;

AND HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN REGENT OF SPAIN;

DON EUGENIO MONTERO RIOS, President of the Senate; DON BUENAVENTURA DE ABARZUZA, Senator of the Kingdom and ex-Minister of the Crown; DON JOSE DE GARNICA, Deputy to the Cortes and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; DON WENCESLAO RAMIREZ DE VILLA-URRUTIA, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Brussels, and DON RAFAEL CERERO, General of Division;

Who, having assembled in Paris, and having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have, after discussion of the matters before them, agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

Spain relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

And as the island is, upon its evacuation by Spain, to be occupied by the United States, the United States will, so long as such occupation shall last, assume and discharge the obligations that may under international law result from the fact of its occupation for the protection of life and property.

ARTICLE II.

Spain cedes to the United States the islands of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the

West Indies, and the island of Guam, in the Marianas or Ladrones.

ARTICLE III.

Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, and comprehending the islands lying within the following line:

A line running from west to east along or near the twentieth parallel of north latitude, and through the middle of the navigable channel of Bachi, from the one hundred and eighteen (118th) to the one hundred and twenty-seventh (127th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence along the one hundred and twenty-seventh (127th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the parallel of four degrees and forty-five minutes (4° 45′) north latitude, thence along the parallel of four degrees and forty-five minutes (4° 45′) north latitude to its intersection with the meridian of longitude one hundred and nineteen degrees and thirty-five minutes (119° 35′) east of Greenwich, thence along the meridian of longitude one hundred and nineteen degrees and thirty-five minutes (119° 35′) east of Greenwich to the parallel of latitude seven degrees and forty minutes (7° 40′) north, thence along the parallel of latitude seven degrees and forty minutes (7° 40′) north to its intersection with the one hundred and sixteenth (116th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence by a direct line to the intersection of the tenth (10th) degree parallel of north latitude with the one hundred and eighteenth (118th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, and thence along the one hundred and eighteenth (118th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the point of beginning.

The United States will pay to Spain the sum of twenty million dollars ($20,000,000) within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

ARTICLE IV.

The United States will, for the term of ten years, from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States.

ARTICLE V.

The United States will, upon the signature of the present treaty, send back to Spain, at its own cost, the Spanish soldiers taken as prisoners of war on the capture of Manila by the American forces. The arms of the soldiers in question shall be restored to them.

Spain will, upon the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, proceed to evacuate the Philippines, as well as the island of Guam, on terms similar to those agreed upon by the commissioners appointed to arrange for the evacuation of Porto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, under the Protocol of August 12, 1898, which is to continue in force till its provisions are completely executed.

The time within which the evacuation of the Philippine Islands and Guam shall be completed shall be fixed by the two governments. Stands of colors, uncaptured war vessels, small arms, guns of all calibres, with their carriages and accessories, powder, ammunition, live stock and materials and supplies of all kinds, belonging to the land and naval forces of Spain in the Philippines and Guam, remain the property of Spain. Pieces of heavy ordnance, exclusive of field artillery, in the fortifications and coast defences, shall remain in their emplacements for the term of six months, to be reckoned from the exchange of ratifications of the treaty; and the United States may, in the meantime, purchase such material from Spain, if a satisfactory agreement between the two governments on the subject shall be reached.

ARTICLE VI.

Spain will, upon the signature of the present treaty, release all prisoners of war, and all persons detained or imprisoned for political offences, in connection with the insurrections in Cuba and the Philippines and the war with the United States.

Reciprocally, the United States will release all persons made prisoners of war by the American forces, and will undertake to obtain the release of all Spanish prisoners in the hands of the insurgents in Cuba and the Philippines.

The Government of the United States will at its own cost return to Spain and the Government of Spain will at its own cost return to the United States, Cuba, Porto Rico and the

Philippines, according to the situation of their respective homes, prisoners released or caused to be released by them, respectively, under this article.

ARTICLE VII.

The United States and Spain mutually relinquish all claims for indemnity, national and individual, of every kind, of either government, or of its citizens or subjects, against the other government, that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba and prior to the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, including all claims for indemnity for the cost of the war.

ARTICLE VIII.

In conformity with the provisions of Articles I, II and III of this treaty Spain relinquishes in Cuba, and cedes in Porto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, in the island of Guam, and in the Philippine Archipelago, all the buildings, wharves, barracks, forts, structures, public highways and other immovable property which, in conformity with law, belong to the public domain, and as such belong to the Crown of Spain.

And it is hereby declared that the relinquishment or cession, as the case may be, to which the preceding paragraph refers, cannot in any respect impair the property or rights which by law belong to the peaceful possession of property of all kinds, of provinces, municipalities, public or private establishments, ecclesiastical or civic bodies, or any other associations having legal capacity to acquire and possess property in the aforesaid territories renounced or ceded, or of private individuals, of whatsoever nationality such individuals may be.

The aforesaid relinquishment or cession, as the case may be, includes all documents exclusively referring to the sovereignty relinquished or ceded that may exist in the archives of the Peninsula. Where any document in such archives only in part relates to said sovereignty a copy of such part will be furnished whenever it shall be requested. Like rules shall be reciprocally observed in favor of Spain in respect of documents in the archives of the islands above referred to.

In the aforesaid relinquishment or cession, as the case may be, are also included such rights as the Crown of Spain

and its authorities possess in respect of the official archives and records, executive as well as judicial, in the islands above referred to, which relate to said islands or the rights and property of their inhabitants. Such archives and records shall be carefully preserved, and private persons shall without distinction have the right to require, in accordance with law, authenticated copies of the contracts, wills and other instruments forming part of notarial protocols or files, or which may be contained in the executive or judicial archives, be the latter in Spain or in the islands aforesaid.

ARTICLE IX.

Spanish subjects, natives of the Peninsula, residing in the territory over which Spain by the present treaty relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty, may remain in such territory or may remove therefrom, retaining in either event all their rights of property, including the right to sell or dispose of such property or of its proceeds; and they shall also have the right to carry on their industry, commerce and professions, being subject in respect thereof to such laws as are applicable to other foreigners. In case they remain in the territory they may preserve their allegiance to the Crown of Spain by making, before a court of record, within a year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, a declaration of their decision to preserve such allegiance; in default of which declaration they shall be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they may reside.

The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress.

ARTICLE X.

The inhabitants of the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion.

ARTICLE XI.

The Spaniards residing in the territories over which Spain by this treaty cedes or relinquishes her sovereignty shall be subject in matters civil as well as criminal to the jurisdiction of the courts of the country wherein they reside, pursuant

to the ordinary laws governing the same; and they shall have the right to appear before such courts, and to pursue the same course as citizens of the country to which the courts belong.

ARTICLE XII.

Judicial proceedings pending at the time of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty in the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty shall be determined according to the following rules:

1. Judgments rendered either in civil suits between private individuals, or in criminal matters, before the date mentioned, and with respect to which there is no recourse or right of review under the Spanish law, shall be deemed to be final, and shall be executed in due form by competent authority in the territory within which such judgments should be carried out.

2. Civil suits between private individuals which may on the date mentioned be undetermined shall be prosecuted to judgment before the court in which they may then be pending or in the court that may be substituted therefor.

3. Criminal actions pending on the date mentioned before the Supreme Court of Spain against citizens of the territory which by this treaty ceases to be Spanish shall continue under its jurisdiction until final judgment; but, such judgment having been rendered, the execution thereof shall be committed to the competent authority of the place in which the case arose.

ARTICLE XIII.

The rights of property secured by copyrights and patents acquired by the Spaniards in the Island of Cuba, and in Porto Rico, the Philippines and other ceded territories, at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, shall continue to be respected. Spanish scientific, literary and artistic works, not subversive of public order in the territories in question, shall continue to be admitted free of duty into such territories for the period of ten years, to be reckoned from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

ARTICLE XIV.

Spain shall have the power to establish consular officers in the ports and places of the territories, the sovereignty

over which has been either relinquished or ceded by the present treaty.

ARTICLE XV.

The Government of each country will, for the term of ten years, accord to the merchant vessels of the other country the same treatment in respect of all port changes, including entrance and clearance dues, light dues, and tonnage duties, as it accords to its own merchant vessels, not engaged in the coastwise trade.

This article may at any time be terminated on six months' notice given by either Government to the other.

ARTICLE XVI.

It is understood that any obligations assumed in this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba are limited to the time of its occupancy thereof; but it will, upon the termination of such occupancy, advise any government established in the island to assume the same obligations.

ARTICLE XVII.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within six months from the date hereof, or earlier if possible.

In faith whereof we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty and have hereunto affixed our seals.

Done in duplicate at Paris, the tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight.

(Seal.)	WILLIAM R. DAY.
(Seal.)	CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.
(Seal.)	WILLIAM P. FRYE.
(Seal.)	GEO. GRAY.
(Seal.)	WHITELAW REID.

LETTER OF ADMIRAL DEWEY

ON THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

U. S. Naval Force on Asiatic Station, Flagship Baltimore,
Manila, Philippine Islands, August 29, 1898.

Sir: Referring to the Department's telegram of the 28th instant, I have the honor to transmit by the hand of Brig. Gen. F. V. Greene, U. S. V., the following views and information upon the subject of the Philippines. A copy of this communication is also given to Major-General Merritt:

The most important islands of the Philippines are Luzon, Panay, Cebu, Negros, Leyte and Mindanao. The others, owing either to the character of the inhabitants, the limited amount of civilization, or the almost entire absence of cultivated land, may be neglected in any consideration of the relative importance or desirability of these islands, especially those of the southern group, which are almost wholly given over to savages.

Luzon is in almost all respects the most desirable of these islands, and therefore the one to retain. In it is situated Manila, the most important commercial as well as the most populous port of all the islands—a port that in our hands would soon become one of the first ports of the world. Not only is tobacco produced in large quantities, but all the tobacco of fine quality grown in the Philippines comes from the northern provinces of this island. The interior has as yet not been developed.

There is but one short railroad, from Manila to Dagupan, and no highways, so that almost all the commerce is carried on by water. Were railroads and highways built—and labor is very cheap—there is little doubt that this island would rapidly increase in productiveness and wealth. The population of Luzon is reported to be something over 3,000,000, mostly natives. These are gentle, docile, and, under just laws and with the benefits of popular education, would soon make good citizens.

In a telegram sent to the Department on June 23 I expressed the opinion that "these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races."

Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion.

As Luzon is the farthest north of the large islands, its climate is naturally the most temperate. In this connection it may be mentioned that out of a force of over 2,000 on the ships of my squadron the number of men on the sick list at any time has not exceeded forty, nor has there been any considerable sickness among our troops on shore, though they were much exposed for three weeks in the trenches during the rainy season. As a matter of fact, Manila is far from being an unhealthy city, and the climate is as fine as that of any place in the tropics.

About sixty miles from Manila and to the northward and westward is Subig Bay, decidedly the best harbor in the Philippines, having no equal as a coaling station or naval and military base.

The entrances are narrow, the shores bold, the water deep, the bay landlocked, easily defended from attack by sea or land, and the fresh-water supply ample. As it is just off the trade route between Manila and China and Japan, it strategically commands Manila. It is there that the Spanish Government had planned to place its principal naval arsenal in the East. Already a great deal of money has been expended, many buildings erected, and much work done. A contract has been made with an English company to construct a floating dock of 12,000 tons capacity; some of the material has been delivered and payments made. The arsenal is on the south side of the harbor, at the village of Olongapo. It is expected that a connection will be made with the railroad from Manila to Dagupan, thus putting Subig in easy reach of Manila.

The principal naval station in the Philippines is now at Cavite, in Manila Bay. It has very fair workshops for light work and ways for vessels of less than 1,000 tons. But it is capable of little expansion, and the small depth of water precludes the building of dry docks for large ships, or even the use of floating docks of much capacity.

Luzon has other decided advantages, both in a commercial and military sense. It is nearest the great centers of trade in the far East, such as Hongkong, Canton, Shanghai, Pekin, Nagasaki and Yokohama, and nearest the trade routes from the United States and Honolulu to those centers; consequently its influence would be greater if held by us. It also

commands San Bernadine Strait, the principal water route through the Philippines from east to west.

From all the above facts it seems patent that Luzon is by far the most valuable island in the group, whether considered from a commercial or military standpoint.

Panay, Cebu, Negros and Leyte are very thickly populated and well cultivated. In these islands the natives are conceded to be the best educated and farthest advanced in civilization.

In Panay is situated Iloilo, the second commercial port of the Philippines and the center of the sugar trade. It has a good harbor, with two entrances, and one that has great strategic importance.

Cebu, the third commercial port, in the island of the same name, has a harbor much like that of Iloilo.

From the best information obtainable it appears that the Philippines contain varied and valuable mineral resources, as well as admirable timber.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

GEORGE DEWEY,
Rear-Admiral, United States Navy,
Commanding United States Naval Forces on Asiatic Station.

The Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

AGUINALDO'S PROCLAMATION

OF JUNE 18, 1898, ESTABLISHING THE DICTATORIAL GOVERNMENT.

B.

No. 1.

To the Philippine Public:

Circumstances have providentially placed me in a position for which I can not fail to recognize that I am not properly qualified; but since I can not violate the laws of Providence nor decline the obligations which honor and patriotism impose upon me, I now salute you, Oh My Beloved People.

I have proclaimed in the face of the whole world that the aspiration of my whole life, the final object of all my efforts and strength, is nothing else but your independence, for I am firmly convinced that that constitutes your constant desire, and that independence signifies for us redemption from slavery and tyranny, regaining our liberty and entrance into the concert of civilized nations.

I understand, on the other hand, that the first duty of every government is to interpret faithfully popular aspirations; with this motive, although the abnormal circumstances of the war have compelled me to institute this dictatorial government which assumes full powers, both civil and military, my constant desire is to surround myself with the most distinguished persons of each province, those that by their conduct deserve the confidence of their province, to the end that, the true necessities of each being known to them, measures may be adopted to meet those necessities and apply the remedies in accordance with the desires of all.

I understand, moreover, the urgent necessity of establishing in each town a solid and robust organization, the strongest bulwark of public security and the sole means of securing that union and discipline which are indispensable for the establishment of the Republic, that is, government of the people, for the people, and warding off the international conflicts which may arise.

Following out the foregoing considerations, I decree as follows:

Article I. The inhabitants of every town where the forces of the Spanish Government still remain will decide upon the most efficacious measures to combat and destroy them, according to the resources and means at their disposal, according to prisoners of war the treatment most conformable to humanitarian sentiments and in the customs observed by civilized nations.

Art. II. As soon as the town is freed from Spanish domination the inhabitants most distinguished for high character, social position, and honorable conduct, both in the center of the community and in the suburbs, will come together in a large meeting, in which they will proceed to elect, by a majority of votes, the chief of the town and a headman for each suburb, considering as suburbs not only those hitherto known as such but also the center of the community.

All those inhabitants who fulfill the conditions above named will have the right to take part in this meeting and to be elected, provided always that they are friendly to the Philippine independence and are twenty years of age.

Art. III. In this meeting shall also be elected by a majority of votes three delegates, one of police and internal order, another of justice and civil registry, and another of taxes and property.

The delegate of justice and civil registry will aid the chief in the formation of courts and in keeping of books of registry of births, deaths and marriage contracts, and of the census.

The delegate of taxes and property will aid the chief in the collection of taxes and administration of public funds, the opening of books of registry of cattle and real property, and in all work relating to encouragement of every class of industry.

Art. IV. The chief, as president, with the headman and the above-mentioned delegates, will constitute the popular assemblies, who will supervise the exact fulfillment of the laws in force and the particular interests of each town.

The head man of the center of the community will be the vice-president of the assembly and the delegate of justice its secretary.

The head men will be delegates of the chief within their respective boundaries.

Art. V. The chiefs of each town, after consulting the opin-

ion of their respective assemblies, will meet and elect, by majority of votes, the chief of the province and three councilors for the three branches above-mentioned.

The chief of the province as president, the chief of the town which is the capital of the province as vice-president, and the above-named councilors will constitute the provincial council, which will supervise the carrying out of the instructions of the government in the territory of the province and for the general interest of the province, and will propose for this government the measures which should be adopted for the general welfare.

Art. VI. The above-named chiefs will also elect by a majority of votes three representatives for each one of the provinces of Manila and Cavite, two for each one of the provinces classified as terminal in Spanish Legislation, and one for each one of the other provinces and politico-military commands of the Philippine Archipelago.

The above-named representatives will guard the general interests of the archipelago and the particular interests of their respective provinces, and will constitute the revolutionary congress which will propose to this Government the measures concerning the preservation of internal order and external security of these islands, and will be heard by this government on all questions of grave importance, the decision of which will admit of delay or adjournment.

Art. VII. Persons elected to any office whatsoever in the form prescribed in the preceding article can not perform the same without the previous confirmation by the Government, which will give it in accordance with the certifications of election.

Representatives will establish their identity by exhibiting the above-named certificates.

Art. VIII. The military chiefs named by this government in each province will not intervene in the government and administration of the provinces, but will confine themselves to requesting of the chiefs of the provinces and of the towns the aid which may be necessary, both in men and resources, which are not to be refused in case of actual necessity.

Nevertheless, when the province is threatened or occupied by the enemy, in whole or in part, the military chief of highest rank therein may assume the powers of the chief of the province until the danger has disappeared.

Art. IX. The government will name for each province a

commissioner specially charged with establishing therein the organization prescribed in this decree, in accordance with instructions which this government will communicate to him. Those military chiefs who liberate the towns from the Spanish domination are commissioners by virtue of their office.

The above-named commissioners will preside over the first meetings held in each town and in each province.

Art. X. As soon as the organization provided in the decree has been established all previous appointments to any civil office whatsoever, no matter what their origin or source, shall be null and void, and all instructions in conflict with the foregoing are hereby annulled.

Given at Cavite, the 18th day of June, 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

C.

No. 2.

For the execution and proper carrying out of what is prescribed in the decree of this government concerning the management of the provinces and towns of the Philippine Archipelago, I decree as follows:

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PROVINCES AND TOWNS.

(Then follow forty-five rules concerning the elections, formation of the police, the courts, and the laying and collection of taxes.)

Given at Cavite, the 20th of June, 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

AGUINALDO'S PROCLAMATION

OF JUNE 23, ESTABLISHING THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.

No. 3.

Don Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, president of the revolutionary government of the Philippines and general-in-chief of its army.

This Government, desiring to demonstrate to the Philippine people that one of its ends is to combat with a firm hand the inveterate vices of the Spanish administration, substituting for personal luxury and that pompous ostentation which have made it a mere matter of routine, cumbrous and slow in its movements, another administration more modest, simple and prompt in performing the public service, I decree as follows:

CHAPTER I.—OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.

Article I. The dictatorial government will be entitled hereafter the revolutionary government, whose object is to struggle for the independence of the Philippines until all nations, including the Spanish, shall expressly recognize it, and to prepare the country so that a true republic may be established.

The dictator will be entitled hereafter president of the revolutionary government.

Art. II. Four secretaryships of government are created—one of foreign affairs, navy, and commerce; another of war and public works; another of police and internal order, justice, education and hygiene; and another of finance, agriculture and manufacturing industry.

The government may increase the number of secretaryships when it shall find in practice that this distribution is not sufficient for the multiplied and complicated necessities of the public service.

Art. III. Each secretaryship shall aid the president in the

administration of questions concerning the different branches which it comprises.

At the head of each one shall be a secretary, who shall not be responsible for the decrees of the presidency, but shall sign them with the president to give them authority.

But if it shall appear that the decree has been promulgated on the proposition of the secretary of the department the latter shall be responsible conjointly with the president.

Art. IV. The secretaryship of foreign affairs will be divided into three bureaus—one of diplomacy, another of navy, and another of commerce.

The first bureau will study and dispose of all questions pertaining to management of diplomatic negotiations with other powers and the correspondence of the government with them; the second will study all questions relating to the formation and organization of our navy, and the fitting out of such expeditions as the necessities of the revolution may require; and the third will have charge of everything relating to the internal and external commerce, and the preliminary work which may be necessary for making treaties of commerce with other nations.

Art. V. The secretaryship of war will be divided into two bureaus—one of war, properly speaking, and the other of public works.

The first bureau will be subdivided into four sections—one of campaigns, another of military justice, another of military administration, and another of military health.

The section of campaigns will have charge of the appointment and formation of the certificates of enlistment and service of all who serve in the revolutionary militia; of the direction of campaigns; the preparation of plans, works of fortification, and preparing reports of battles; of the study of military tactics for the army and the organization of the general staff, artillery and cavalry; and, finally, of the determination of all the other questions concerning the business of campaigns and military operations.

The section of military justice will have charge of everything relating to courts of war and military tribunals, the appointment of judges and counsel, and the determination of all questions of military justice. The section of military administration will be charged with the furnishing of food and other supplies necessary for the use of the army, and the section

of military health will have charge of everything relating to the hygiene and healthfulness of the militia.

Art. VI. The other secretaryships will be divided into such bureaus as their branches may require, and each bureau will be subdivided into sections according to the nature and importance of the work it has to do.

Art. VII. The secretary will inspect and supervise all the work of his secretaryship and will determine all questions with the president of the government.

At the head of each bureau will be a director, and in each section an officer provided with such number of assistants and clerks as may be specified.

Art. VIII. The president will appoint the secretaries of his own free choice, and in concert with them will appoint all the subordinate officials of each secretaryship.

In order that in the choice of persons it may be possible to avoid favoritism it must be fully understood that the good name of the country and the triumph of the revolution require the services of persons truly capable.

Art. IX. The secretaries may be present at the revolutionary congress, in order that they may make any motion in the name of the president or may be interpolated publicly by any one of the representatives; but when the question which is the object of the motion shall be put to vote, or after the interpolation is ended, they shall leave and shall not take part in the vote.

Art. X. The president of the government is the personification of the Philippine people, and in accordance with this idea it shall not be possible to hold him responsible while he fills the office.

His term of office shall last until the revolution triumphs, unless under extraordinary circumstances he shall feel obliged to offer his resignation to congress, in which case congress will elect whosoever it considers most fit.

CHAPTER II.—OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CONGRESS.

Art. XI. The revolutionary congress is the body of representatives of the provinces of the Philippine Archipelago elected in the manner prescribed in the decrees of the 18th of the present month.

Nevertheless, if any province shall not be able as yet to

elect representatives because the greater part of its towns shall have not yet been able to liberate themselves from Spanish domination, the government shall have power to appoint as provisional representatives for this province those persons who are most distinguished for high character and social position in such numbers as are prescribed by the above-named decree, provided always that they are natives of the province which they represent or have resided therein for a long time.

Art. XII. The representatives having met at the town which is the seat of the revolutionary government, and in the building which may be designated, will proceed to its preliminary labors, designating by plurality of votes a commission composed of five individuals charged with examining documents accrediting each representative, and another commission composed of three individuals who will examine the documents which the five of the former commission exhibit.

Art. XIII. On the following day the above-named representatives will meet again, and the two commissions will read their respective reports concerning the legality of the said documents, deciding by an absolute majority of votes on the character of those which appear doubtful.

This business completed, it will proceed to designate, also by absolute majority, a president, vice-president, and two secretaries, who shall be chosen from among the representatives, whereupon the congress shall be considered organized and shall notify the government of the result of the election.

Art. XIV. The place where congress deliberates is sacred and inviolable, and no armed force shall enter therein unless the president thereof shall ask therefor in order to establish internal order disturbed by those who can neither honor themselves nor its august functions.

Art. XV. The powers of congress are: To watch over the general interest of the Philippine people and the carrying out of the revolutionary laws; to discuss and vote upon said laws; to discuss and approve prior to their ratification treaties and loans; to examine and approve the accounts presented annually by the secretary of finance as well as extraordinary and other taxes which may hereafter be imposed.

Art. XVI. Congress shall also be consulted in all grave and important questions the determination of which admit of delay or adjournment; but the president of the government

shall have power to decide questions of urgent character, but in that case he shall give account by message to said body of the decision which he has adopted.

Art. XVII. Every representative shall have power to present to congress any project of a law, and every secretary on the order of the president of the government shall have similar power.

Art. XVIII. The sessions of congress shall be public, and only in cases which require reserve shall it have power to hold a secret session.

Art. XIX. In the order of its deliberations as well as in the internal government of the body the instructions which shall be formulated by the congress itself shall be observed.

The president shall direct the deliberations and shall not vote except in case of a tie, when he shall have the casting vote.

Art. XX. The president of the government shall not have power to interrupt in any manner the meetings of congress nor embarrass its sessions.

Art. XXI. The congress shall designate a permanent commission of justice, which shall be presided over by the auxiliary vice-president or each of the secretaries, and shall be composed of those persons and seven members elected by plurality of votes from among the representatives. This commission shall judge on appeal the criminal cases tried by the provincial courts, and shall take cognizance of and have original jurisdiction in all cases against the secretaries of the government, the chiefs of provinces and towns, and the provincial judges.

Art. XXII. In the office of the secretary of congress shall be kept a book of honor, wherein shall be recorded special services rendered the country and considered as such by said body. Every Filipino, whether in the military or civil service, may petition congress for notation in said book, presenting duly accredited documents describing the service rendered by him on behalf of the country since the beginning of the present revolution. For extraordinary services which may be rendered hereafter the government will propose said notation, accompanying the proposal with the necessary documents justifying it.

Art. XXIII. The congress shall also grant on the proposal of the government rewards in money, which can be given only once, to the families of those who were victims of

their duty and patriotism as a result of extraordinary acts of heroism.

Art. XXIV. The acts of congress shall not take effect until the president of the government orders their fulfillment and execution. Whenever the said president shall be of the opinion that any act is unsuitable or against public policy or pernicious, he shall explain to congress the reasons against its execution, and if the latter shall insist on its passage the president shall have power to oppose his veto under his most rigid responsibility.

CHAPTER III.—OF MILITARY COURTS AND JUSTICE.

Art. XXV. When the chiefs of military detachments have notice that any soldier has committed or has perpetrated any act of those commonly considered as military crimes, he shall bring it to the knowledge of the commandant of the Zone, who shall appoint a judge and a secretary, who shall begin suit in the form prescribed in the instructions dated the 20th of the present month. If the accused shall be of the grade of lieutenant or higher, the said commandant shall himself be the judge, and if the latter shall be the accused the senior commandant of the province shall name as judge an officer who holds a higher grade, unless the same senior commandant shall himself have brought the suit. The judge shall always belong to the class of chiefs.

Art. XXVI. On the conclusion of the preliminary hearing the senior commandant shall designate three officers of equal or higher rank to the judge, and the military court shall consist of the said officers, the judge, the councilor, and the president. The latter shall be the commandant of the zone if the accused be of the grade of lieutenant or higher. The court shall conduct the trial in the form customary in the provincial courts, but the judgment shall be appealable to the higher courts of war.

Art. XXVII. The superior court shall be composed of six members, who shall hold rank not less than brigadier-generals, and the judge-advocate. If the number of generals present in the capital of the revolutionary government shall not be sufficient, the deficiency shall be supplied by representatives designated and commissioned by congress. The president of the court shall be the general having the highest rank

of all, and should there be more than one having equal rank the president shall be elected from among them by absolute majority of votes.

Art. XXVIII. The superior court shall have jurisdiction in all cases affecting the higher commandants, the commandants of zones and all officers of the rank of major and higher.

Art. XXIX. Commit military crimes: First, those who fail to grant the necessary protection to foreigners, both in their persons and property, and those who similarly fail to afford protection to hospitals and ambulances, including persons and effects which may be found in possession of one or the other, and those engaged in the service of the same, provided always they commit no hostile act; second, those who fail in the respect due to the lives, money, and jewels of enemies who lay down their arms, and of prisoners of war; third, Filipinos who place themselves in the service of the enemy, acting as spies or disclosing to them secrets of war and the plans of the revolutionary positions and fortifications, and those who present themselves under a flag of truce without justifying properly their office and their personality; and, fourth, those who fail to recognize a flag of truce duly accredited in the form prescribed by international law.

Will commit also military crimes: Those who conspire against the unity of the revolutionists, provoking rivalry between chiefs, and forming divisions and armed bands; second, those who solicit contributions without authority of the government and misappropriate the public funds; third, those who desert to the enemy, or are guilty of cowardice in the presence of the enemy, being armed; and, fourth, those who seize the property of any person who has done no harm to the revolution, violate women, and assassinate or inflict serious wounds on unarmed persons, and who commit robberies and arson.

Art. XXX. Those who commit the crimes enumerated will be considered, as declared, enemies of the revolution, and will incur the penalties prescribed in the Spanish Penal Code, and in the highest grade.

If the crime shall not be found in the said code, the offender shall be imprisoned until the revolution triumphs, unless the result of this shall be an irreparable damage, which, in the judgment of the tribunal, shall be a sufficient cause for imposing the penalty of death.

ADDITIONAL CLAUSES.

The government will establish abroad a revolutionary committee composed of a number, not yet determined, of persons most competent in the Philippine Archipelago. This committee will be divided into three delegations: One of diplomacy, another of the navy, and another of the army.

The delegation of diplomacy will arrange and conduct negotiations with foreign cabinets with a view to the recognition of the belligerency and independence of the Philippines.

The delegation of the navy will be charged with the studying and organizing of the Philippine navy and preparing the expenditures which the necessities of the revolution may require.

The delegation of the army will study military tactics and the best form of organization for the general staff, artillery, and engineers, and whatever else may be necessary in order to fit out the Philippine army under the conditions required by modern progress.

Art. XXXII. The government will issue the necessary instructions for the proper execution of the present decree.

Art. XXXIII. All the decrees of the dictatorial government in conflict with the foregoing are hereby annulled.

Given at Cavite, the 23d of June, 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

E.

INSTRUCTIONS.

Desiring to bring about a proper execution of the decree dated the 23d of the present month, and to provide that the administrative measures shall not result hereafter in the paralysis of public business, but that, on the contrary, it shall constitute the best guaranty of the regularity, promptitude and fitness in the transaction of public business, I give the following instructions and decree:

(Then follow ten rules concerning the details of installing the government.)

Cavite, the 27th of June, 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

F.

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION.

If it is true, as it is true, that political revolutions properly understood are the violent means which people employ to recover the sovereignty which naturally belongs to them, usurped and trampled upon by a tyrannical and arbitrary government, no revolution can be more righteous than that of the Philippines, because the people have had recourse to it after having exhausted all the pacific means which reason and experience could suggest.

The ancient kings of Castile felt obliged to consider the Philippines as a brother people, united to the Spanish in a perfect participation of aims and interests, so much so that when the constitution of 1812 was promulgated at Cadiz, on account of the war of Spanish independence, these islands were represented in the Spanish Cortes; but the interests of the monastic corporations, which have always found unconditional support in the Spanish Government, overcame this sacred duty and the Philippines remained excluded from the Spanish constitution and the people at the mercy of the discretionary or arbitrary powers of the Governor-General.

In this condition the people claimed justice, begged of the metropolis the recognition and restitution of their secular rights by means of reforms which should assimilate in a gradual and progressive manner the Philippines to the Spaniards; but their voice was quickly throttled and their sons received as the reward of their self-denial deportation, martyrdom, and death. The religious corporations with whose interests, always opposed to those of the Philippine people, the Spanish Government has been identified, scoffed at those pretensions and answered with the knowledge of that government that Spanish liberties had cost blood.

What other recourse then remained to the people for insisting as in duty bound on regaining its former rights? No alternative remained except force, and convinced of that, it has had recourse and revolution.

And now it is not limited to asking assimilation to the

Spanish political constitution, but it asks a definite separation from it. It struggles for its independence in the firm belief that the time has arrived in which it can and ought to govern itself.

There has been established a revolutionary government under wise and just laws, suited to the abnormal circumstances through which it is passing, and which in proper time will prepare it for a true republic. Thus taking as a sole model for its acts reason, for its sole end justice, and for its sole means honorable labor, it calls all Filipinos its sons without distinction of class, and invites them to unite firmly, with the object of forming a noble society, not based upon blood nor pompous titles, but upon the work and personal merit of each one; a free society, where exists neither egotism nor personal politics, which annihilate and crush; neither envy nor favoritism, which debase; neither fanfaronade nor charlatanism, which are ridiculous.

And it could not be otherwise. A people which has given proofs of suffering and valor in tribulation and in danger and of hard work and study in peace is not destined to slavery; this people is called to be great, to be one of the strongest arms of Providence in ruling the destinies of mankind. This people has resources and energy sufficient to liberate itself from the ruin and extinction into which the Spanish Government has plunged it, and to claim a modest but worthy place in the concert of free nations.

Given at Cavite the 23d of June, 1898.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

G.

To Foreign Governments:

The revolutionary government of the Philippines on its establishment explained through the message dated the 23d of June last the true causes of the Philippine revolution, showing according to the evidence that this popular movement is the result of the laws which regulate the life of a people which aspire to progress and to perfection by the sole road of liberty.

The said revolution now rules in the provinces of Cavite, Batangas, Mindoro, Tayabas, Laguna, Morong, Bulacan, Bataan, Pampanga, Nueva-Ecija, Tarlac, Pangasinan, Union,

Infanta and Zambales, and it holds besieged the capital of Manila.

In these provinces complete order and perfect tranquillity reign, administered by the authorities elected by the provinces in accordance with the organic decrees dated 18th and 23d of June last.

The revolution holds, moreover, about 9,000 prisoners of war, who are treated in accordance with the customs of war between civilized nations and humane sentiments, and at the end of the war it has more than 30,000 combatants organized in the form of a regular army.

In this situation the chiefs of the towns, comprised in the above-mentioned provinces, interpreting the sentiments which animate those who have elected them, have proclaimed the independence of the Philippines, petitioning the revolutionary government that it will entreat and obtain from foreign governments recognition of its belligerency and its independence in the firm belief that the Philippine people have already arrived at that state in which they can and ought to govern themselves.

This is set forth in the accompanying documents subscribed by the above-named chiefs.

Wherefore the undersigned, by virtue of the powers which belong to him as president of the revolutionary government of the Philippines and in the name and representation of the Philippine people, asks the support of all the powers of the civilized world, and earnestly entreats them to proceed to the formal recognition of the belligerency of the revolution and the independence of the Philippines, since they are the means designated by Providence to maintain the equilibrium between peoples, sustaining the weak and restraining the strong, to the end that by these means shall shine forth and be realized the most complete justice in the indefinite progress of humanity.

Given at Bacoor, in the Province of Cavite, the 6th day of August, 1898.

The president of the revolutionary government,

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

MR. PRATT TO MR. DAY.

(Confidential.)

No. 212.

Consulate-General of the United States,
Singapore, April 28, 1898.

Sir: I have the honor to report that I sent you, on the 27th instant, and confirmed in my dispatch No. 211 of that date, a telegram, which deciphered read as follows:

Secretary of State, Washington:
General Aguinaldo gone my instance Hongkong arrange with Dewey co-operation insurgents Manila. PRATT.

The facts are these: On the evening of Saturday, the 23d instant, I was confidentially informed of the arrival here, incognito, of the supreme leader of the Philippine insurgents, General Emilio Aguinaldo, by Mr. H. W. Bray, an English gentleman of high standing, who, after fifteen years' residence as a merchant and planter in the Philippines, had been compelled by the disturbed condition of things resulting from Spanish misrule to abandon his property and leave there, and from whom I had previously obtained much valuable information for Commodore Dewey regarding fortifications, coal deposits, etc., at different points in the islands.

Being aware of the great prestige of General Aguinaldo with the insurgents, and that no one, either at home or abroad, could exert over them the same influence and control that he could, I determined at once to see him, and, at my request, a secret interview was accordingly arranged for the following morning, Sunday, the 24th, in which, besides General Aguinaldo, were only present the General's trusted advisers and Mr. Bray, who acted as interpreter.

At this interview, after learning from General Aguinaldo the state of and object sought to be obtained by the present insurrectionary movement, which, though absent from the Philippines, he was still directing, I took it upon myself, whilst explaining that I had no authority to speak for the Government, to point out the danger of continuing independent action at this stage; and, having convinced him of the expediency of co-operating with our fleet, then at Hongkong, and obtained the assurance of his willingness to proceed thither and confer with Commodore Dewey to that end,

should the latter so desire, I telegraphed the Commodore the same day as follows, through our consul-general at Hongkong:

Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hongkong; arrange with Commodore for general co-operation insurgents Manila if desired. Telegraph. PRATT.

The Commodore's reply reading thus:

Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible. DEWEY.

I received it late that night, and at once communicated to General Aguinaldo, who, with his aid-de-camp and private secretary, all under assumed names, I succeeded in getting off by the British steamer Malacca, which left here on Tuesday, the 26th.

Just previous to his departure I had a second and last interview with General Aguinaldo, the particulars of which I shall give you by next mail.

The General impressed me as a man of intelligence, ability and courage, and worthy the confidence that had been placed in him.

I think that in arranging for his direct co-operation with the commander of our forces I have prevented possible conflict of action and facilitated the work of occupying and administering the Philippines.

If this course of mine meets with the Government's approval, as I trust it may, I shall be fully satisfied; to Mr. Bray, however, I consider there is due some special recognition for most valuable services rendered.

How that recognition can best be made I leave to you to decide.

I have, etc., E. SPENCER PRATT,
United States Consul-General.

MR. PRATT TO MR. DAY.

No. 213.

Consulate-General of the United States,
Singapore, April 30, 1898.

Sir: Referring to my dispatch, No. 212, of the 28th instant, I have the honor to report that in the second and last interview I had with Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, on the eve of

his departure for Hongkong, I enjoined upon him the necessity, under Commodore Dewey's direction, of exerting absolute control over his forces in the Philippines, as no excesses on their part would be tolerated by the American Government, the President having declared that the present hostilities with Spain were to be carried on in strict accord with modern principles of civilized warfare.

To this General Aguinaldo fully assented, assuring me that he intended, and was perfectly able, once in the field, to hold his followers, the insurgents, in check and lead them as our commander should direct.

The General further stated that he hoped the United States would assume protection of the Philippines for at least long enough to allow the inhabitants to establish a government of their own, in the organization of which he would desire American advice and assistance.

These questions I told him I had no authority to discuss.

I have, etc., E. SPENCER PRATT,
United States Consul-General.

MR. PRATT TO MR. DAY.

No. 223.

Consulate-General of the United States,
Singapore, May 20, 1898.

Sir: I have the honor to submit for your consideration a proclamation in Spanish, issued prior to the departure of our fleet for Manila by the insurgent leaders in Hongkong, calling upon the Filipinos not to obey the appeal of the Spaniards to oppose the Americans, but to rally in support of these, as they came as their friends and liberators.

Three copies of the English translation of the above I also enclose for handing to the press, should that, in your opinion, seem advisable.

I have the honor to be, E. SPENCER PRATT,
United States Consul-General.

(Inclosure.)

AMERICA'S ALLIES—THE MANIFESTO OF THE FILIPINOS.

The following is a translation from the Spanish of a proclamation of the rebel leaders in Hongkong, sent over to the Philippines in advance of the American squadron:

Compatriots: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach, and in a way the most free and independent nation could hardly wish for.

The Americans, not from mercenary motives, but for the sake of humanity and the lamentations of so many persecuted people, have considered it opportune to extend their protecting mantle to our beloved country, now that they have been obliged to sever relations with Spain, owing to the tyranny this nation is exercising in Cuba, causing enormous injury to the Americans, who have such large commercial and other interests there.

At the present moment an American squadron is preparing to sail for the Philippines.

We, your brothers, are very much afraid that you may be induced to fire on the Americans. No, brothers, never make this mistake. Rather blow your own brains out than fire a shot or treat as enemies those who are your liberators.

Your natural enemies, your executioners, the authors of your misery and unhappiness, are the Spaniards, who govern you. Against these you must raise your weapons and odium; understand well, against the Spaniards, and never against the Americans.

Take no notice of the decree of the Governor-General calling you to arms, although it may cost you your lives. Rather die than be ungrateful to our American liberators.

The Governor-General call you to arms. What for? To defend your Spanish tyrants? To defend those that have despised you, and even in public speeches asked for your extermination—those that have treated you little better than savages? No! No! A thousand times no!

Give a glance at history and you will see that all Spain's wars in Oceania have sacrificed Philippine blood. We have been put to fight in Cochin-China to assist the French in an affair that in no way concerned the Philippines. We were compelled to spill our blood by Simon de Anda against the English, who, in any case, would have made better rulers than the Spaniards. Every year our children are taken away to be sacrificed in Mindanao and Sulu, on the pretense of making us believe these people are our enemies, when in reality they are our brothers, like us fighting for their independence.

After having sacrificed our blood against the English,

against the Annamites, against the people of Mindanao, etc., what recompense or thanks have we received from the Spanish Government? Obscurity, poverty, the butchery of those dear to us. Enough, brothers, of this Spanish tutelage.

Take note, the Americans will attack by sea and prevent any re-enforcements coming from Spain; therefore we insurgents must attack by land. Probably you will have more than sufficient arms, because the Americans have arms and will find means to assist us.

There, where you see the American flag flying, assemble in numbers; they are our redeemers.

Our unworthy names are as nothing, but one and all of us invoke the name of the greatest patroit our country has seen, in the sure and certain hope that his spirit will be with us in these moments and guide us to victory—our immortal Jose Rizal.

MR. PRATT TO MR. DAY.

No. 225. Consulate-General of the United States,
Singapore, June 2, 1898.

Sir: I have the honor to submit inclosed a telegram from Hongkong, of the 25th ultimo, on the situation in the Philippines, published in Singapore yesterday afternoon, the 1st instant.

Considering the enthusiastic manner General Aguinaldo has been received by the natives and the confidence with which he already appears to have inspired Admiral Dewey, it will be admitted, I think, that I did not overrate his importance and that I have materially assisted the cause of the United States in the Philippines in securing his co-operation.

Why this co-operation should not have been secured to us during the months General Aguinaldo remained awaiting events in Hongkong, and that he was allowed to leave there without having been approached in the interest of our Government, I can not understand.

No close observer of what had transpired in the Philippines during the past four years could have failed to recognize that General Aguinaldo enjoyed above all others the confidence of the Filipino insurgents and the respect alike

of Spaniards and foreigners in the islands, all of whom vouched for his high sense of justice and honor.

I have the honor to be, etc. E. SPENCER PRATT,
United States Consul-General.

(Inclosure in Dispatch No. 225.)

(The Singapore Free Press, Wednesday, June 1, 1898. Hongkong Telegraph, 25th.)

THE WAR—THE SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The Japanese cruiser Akitsushima arrived here yesterday from Manila, and the following is the latest news:

General Aguinaldo arrived by the McCulloch on the 19th instant, and was received with great enthusiasm by the natives.

Admiral Dewey was very much pleased with him, and has turned over to him two modern field pieces and 300 rifles, with plenty of ammunition.

General Aguinaldo is now organizing an attack on the Spanish land forces, and a decisive battle may be expected soon.

The Manila papers are publishing sensational articles hourly, among which is that the U. S. S. Baltimore is so used up in the late engagement that the American admiral decided to scuttle her.

MR. PRATT TO MR. DAY.

No. 229. Consulate-General of the United States,
Singapore, June 9, 1898.

Sir: I have the honor to report that this afternoon, on the occasion of the receipt of the news of General Aguinaldo's recent successes near Manila, I was waited upon by the Philippine residents in Singapore and presented an address which, though written in Spanish, was delivered in French, and which I accordingly replied to in that language.

The reports of the proceedings sent me by the editors of the Singapore Free Press and Straits Times, both of whom were present, I submit herewith, with duplicates for the press should you consider their publication desirable.

The original address in Spanish was not left with me, but

I am promised it as soon as properly written out, and will then forward it.

My reply, however, I can not forward, as it was not written, but extemporaneous, and has been correctly rendered from the French into English in the within reports, from which you will note that I avoided touching upon the question of our future policy re the Philippines.

I have the honor, etc., E. SPENCER PRATT,
United States Consul-General.

(Inclosures—The Straits Times, June 9.)

Mr. Spencer Pratt Serenaded—Meeting of Filipino Refugees at the United States Consulate—They present an address to Mr. Spencer Pratt and drink to America, England, and Admiral Dewey.

The United States consulate at Singapore was yesterday afternoon in an unusual state of bustle. That bustle extended itself to Raffles' Hotel, of which the Consulate forms an outlying part. From a period shortly prior to 5 o'clock, afternoon, the natives of the Philippines resident in Singapore began to assemble at the consulate. Their object was partly to present an address to Hon. Spencer Pratt, United States consul-general, and partly to serenade him, for which purpose some twenty-five or thirty of the Filipinos came equipped with musical instruments. Gradually the crowd gathered in the vicinity of the United States consulate, and, after a little quiet preliminary music, Dr. Santos, as representing the Philippine community in Singapore, proceeded to read the following address, which was originally drafted in Spanish and then translated into French. The address was read in French, and the following is an English translation:

THE ADDRESS.

"To the Hon. Edward Spencer Pratt, consul-general of the United States of North America, Singapore:

"Sir: The Philippine colony resident in this port, composed of representatives of all social classes, have come to present their respects to you as the legitimate representative of the great and powerful American Republic, in order to express our eternal gratitude for the moral and material

protection extended by Admiral Dewey to our trusted leader, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, who has been driven to take up arms in the name of 8,000,000 Filipinos, in defense of those very principles of justice and liberty of which your country is the foremost champion. Our countrymen at home, and those of us residing here, refugees from Spanish misrule and tyranny in our beloved native land, hope that the United States, your nation, persevering in its humane policy will efficaciously second the program arranged between you, sir, and General Aguinaldo in this port of Singapore, and secure to us our independence under the protection of the United States. Our warmest thanks are especially due to you, sir, personally, for having been the first to cultivate relations with General Aguinaldo, and arrange for the co-operation with Admiral Dewey, thus supporting our aspirations which time and subsequent actions have developed and caused to meet with the applause and approbation of your nation. Finally, we request you to convey to your illustrious President and the American people, and to Admiral Dewey, our sentiments of sincere gratitude and our most fervent wishes for their prosperity.

"Singapore, June 8, 1898."

Dr. Santos, having presented the above address to Mr. Spencer Pratt, proceeded, speaking in French, to state his belief that the Filipinos would prove and were now proving themselves fit for self-government. While it would be very desirable that such a government should be under American protection, yet it would be found that the brave Filipinos, who were now driving the Spanish troops before them, were quite fit also to fill offices of civil administration. Referring to certain news which had been telegraphed from Europe, Dr. Santos deprecated the transfer of the Philippines from Spain to any power. He was quite confident that the sympathy of the American people would be with a nation who were struggling to be free.

THE UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL REPLIES.

After listening to the address the United States consul-general, also speaking in French, said:

"Gentlemen, the honor you have conferred upon me is

so unexpected that I can not find appropriate words with which to thank you and with which to reply to the eloquent address you have just read to me. Rest assured, though, that I fully understand and sincerely appreciate the motives that have prompted your present action, and that your words, which have sunk deep in my heart, shall be faithfully repeated to the President, to Admiral Dewey, and to the American people—from whom I am sure that they will meet with full and generous response. A little over a month ago the world resounded with the praises of Admiral Dewey and his fellow officers and men for a glorious victory won by the American Asiatic Squadron in the Bay of Manila. Now, we have news of the brilliant achievements of your own distinguished leader, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, co-operating on land with the Americans at sea. You have just reason to be proud of what has been and is being accomplished by General Aguinaldo and your fellow countrymen under his command. When, six weeks ago, I learned that General Aguinaldo had arrived incognito in Singapore, I immediately sought him out. An hour's interview convinced me that he was the man for the occasion; and, having communicated with Admiral Dewey, I accordingly arranged for him to join the latter, which he did, at Cavite. The rest you know.

"I am thankful to have been the means, though merely the accidental means, of bringing about the arrangement between General Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey, which has resulted so happily. I can only hope that the eventful outcome will be all that can be desired for the happiness and welfare of the Filipinos. My parting words to General Aguinaldo were, 'General, when you have proved yourself great, prove yourself magnanimous,' and from the treatment accorded to the recent Spanish prisoners it would appear that he had done so." (Applause.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Pratt's speech refreshments were served, and as the Filipinos, being Christians, drink alcohol, there was no difficulty in arranging as to refreshments. "Long life and prosperity" were drunk to Mr. Consul-General Spencer Pratt. Then the American Republic was cheered. Then Commodore Dewey was cheered for his gallant victory. Then England was cheered for sheltering the Filipino refugees.

PRESENTING A FLAG.

Then Dr. Santos, as the spokesman of the Filipino refugees, again addressed the audience with many complimentary remarks on the gallantry of Admiral Dewey and the skill and foresight of United States Consul-General Pratt, and with glowing forecasts of the prosperity that awaited the Philippine Islands under the new regime. He expressed a desire to have an American flag as a reminiscence of the day's proceedings. Mr. Spencer Pratt, again speaking in French, replied, saying:

"This flag was borne in battle, and is the emblem of that very liberty that you are seeking to attain. Its red stripes represent the blood that was shed for the cause; the white represents the purity of the motive; the blue field stands for the azure of the sky; the stars are the free and independent States of the Union. Take the flag and keep it as a souvenir of this occasion."

At the conclusion of Mr. Pratt's speech, he handed an American flag to Dr. Santos, who received it reverently, and waved it exultantly amidst the cheers of the assembled Filipinos. The flag would, said Dr. Santos, be preserved so that future generations might look at it with pride.

MR. DAY TO MR. PRATT.

(Telegram.)

Department of State, June 16, 1898.

Two hundred twelve received and answered. Avoid unauthorized negotiations with Philippine insurgents.

DAY.

No. 78.

MR. DAY TO MR. PRATT.

Department of State,
Washington, June 16, 1898.

Sir: I have to acknowledge receipt of your confidential dispatch No. 212, of the 28th of April last, in which you report your proceedings in bringing together the insurgent general, Emilio Aguinaldo, and Admiral Dewey, before the latter's departure for Manila. It appears that your meeting with General Aguinaldo was brought about through the good offices of Mr. H. W. Bray, a British subject, who has been compelled by the disturbed condition of things in the

Philippines to abandon his property and business there, and that, after an interview with General Aguinaldo, you telegraphed to Admiral Dewey that the insurgent leader would come to Hongkong to arrange for a general co-operation of the insurgents, if this should be desired. The admiral telegraphed in reply: "Tell Aguinaldo come as soon as possible." As a consequence General Aguinaldo, with his aid-de-camp and private secretary, left Singapore for Hongkong on the 26th of April for the purpose of joining Admiral Dewey. You promise the department a fuller account of your interview with General Aguinaldo by the next mail, and say that in arranging for his "direct co-operation" with the commander of the United States forces you have prevented a possible conflict of action and facilitated the work of occupying and administering the Philippines.

The department observes that you informed General Aguinaldo that you had no authority to speak for the United States; and, in the absence of the fuller report which you promise, it is assumed that you did not attempt to commit this Government to any alliance with the Philippine insurgents. To obtain the unconditional personal assistance of General Aguinaldo in the expedition to Manila was proper, if in so doing he was not induced to form hopes which it might not be practical to gratify. The Government has known the Philippine insurgents only as discontented and rebellious subjects of Spain, and is not acquainted with their purposes. While their contest with that power has been a matter of public notoriety, they have neither asked nor received from this Government any recognition. The United States, in entering upon the occupation of the islands, as the result of its military operations in that quarter, will do so in the exercise of the rights which the state of war confers, and will expect from the inhabitants, without regard to their former attitude toward the Spanish Government, that obedience which will be lawfully due from them.

If, in the course of your conferences with General Aguinaldo, you acted upon the assumption that this Government would co-operate with him for the furtherance of any plan of his own, or that, in accepting his co-operation, it would consider itself pledged to recognize any political claims which he may put forward, your action was unauthorized and can not be approved.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM R. DAY.

MR. DAY TO MR. PRATT.

No. 87. Department of State,
Washington, July 20, 1898.

Sir: Your No. 229 of the 9th ultimo, inclosing printed copies of a report from the Straits Times of the same day, entitled "Mr. Spencer Pratt's Serenade," with a view to its communication to the press, has been received and considered.

By department's telegram of the 17th of June you were instructed to avoid unauthorized negotiations with the Philippine insurgents. The reasons for this instruction were conveyed to you in my No. 78 of the 16th of June, by which the President's views on the subject of your relations with General Aguinaldo were fully expressed.

The extract now communicated by you from the Straits Times of the 9th of June has occasioned a feeling of disquietude and a doubt as to whether some of your acts may not have borne a significance and produced an impression which this Government would be compelled to regret.

The address presented to you by the twenty-five or thirty Filipinos who gathered about the consulate discloses an understanding on their part that the object of Admiral Dewey was to support the cause of General Aguinaldo, and that the ultimate object of our action is to secure the independence of the Philippines "under the protection of the United States."

Your address does not repel this implication, and it moreover represents that General Aguinaldo was "sought out by you," whereas it had been the understanding of the Department that you received him only upon the request of a British subject named Bray, who formerly lived in the Philippines. Your further reference to General Aguinaldo as "the man for the occasion," and to your "bringing about" the "arrangement" between "General Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey which has resulted so happily," also represents the matter in a light which causes apprehension lest your action may have laid the ground of future misunderstandings and complications.

For these reasons the Department has not caused the article to be given to the press, lest it might seem thereby to lend a sanction to views the expression of which it had not authorized.

Respectfully yours,
WILLIAM R. DAY.

MR. PRATT TO MR. MOORE.

No. 236. Consulate-General of the United States,
Singapore, June 21, 1898.

Sir: In continuation of my dispatch No. 235, of the 20th instant, I beg to state that if, in regard to General Aguinaldo, I arranged directly with Commodore Dewey without obtaining the Department's previous authorization it was because of the little time there was in which to act and the practical impossibility of explaining by cable to the Department the value of the general's co-operation, of which I felt the commodore would already be in a position to judge from what he must have learned of the situation while at Hongkong.

I beg further to state that it was not only on account of the material aid I was confident he could lend us that I regarded the co-operation of General Aguinaldo as so desirable, but also because, as the recognized leader of the insurgents, he was, I considered, the one best able to direct and influence them, and therefore the one most important for our commander to have under immediate control, both as concerned the present and future policy of our Government in the Philippines, whatever that policy might be.

Had it not been arranged for General Aguinaldo thus to co-operate with us it is more than probable that he would have returned to the islands of his own accord and undertaken independent operations, which might, I fear, have caused us serious embarrassment. I am not having, nor do I propose to have, any further dealings here with the Philippine insurgents.

I have the honor, etc., E. SPENCER PRATT,
United States Consul-General.

EMILIO AGUINALDO TO THE PRESIDENT.

(Translation.)

Cavite, June 10, 1898.

To the President of the Republic of the Great North American Nation:

Dear and Honored Sir: I come to greet you with the most tender effusion of my soul, and to express to you my deep and sincere gratitude, in the name of the unfortunate Philippine people, for the efficient and disinterested protection which you have decided to give it, to shake off the yoke of the cruel and corrupt Spanish domination, as you are doing to the equally unfortunate Cuba, which Spain wishes to see annihilated rather than free and independent, giving her, to quiet her and cicatrize the deep wounds made in her heart by the iniquities committed upon her children, a false autonomy, of which one bold blow of the Governor-General may deprive her immediately, as she has no colonial army to serve as a counterpoise to the almost sovereign powers of that supreme authority.

At the same time, as I am always frank and open, I must express to you the great sorrow which all of us Filipinos felt on reading in the Times, a newspaper of the greatest circulation and reputation in the whole world, in its issue of the 5th of last month, the astounding statement that you, sir, will retain these islands until the end of the war, and, if Spain fails to pay the indemnity, will sell them to a European power, preferably Great Britain. But we found a palliative to our sorrow in the improbability and suddenness of that statement, as common sense refuses to believe that so sensible a public man as you would venture to make an assertion so contrary to common sense, before events are entirely consummated, as you well know that if God favors the triumph of your arms to-day, to-morrow He may defeat them and give the victory to Spain, and because such an assertion is not consistent with the protection of which you make a boast toward this unfortunate people, which has been groaning for more than

three centuries in the clutches of a nation which has for its shield (emblem) the lion, one of the ferocious animals, although she displays it as a symbol of nobility, which she certainly does not possess, besides the fact that it is opposed to your noble and generous sentiments to wish to sell these islands to a European power such as England, thereby making us pass under the domination of that nation, which, although it has a truly liberal government, partakes none the less of the nature of a tyranny as it is monarchical.

Oh, sir, you are greatly injured by this statement, which ought to be regarded merely as a diplomatic trick invented by the friends of Spain to induce us to help her by using this vile slander which has been hurled against you to arouse our hostility to that powerful nation over whose destinies you happily preside.

The Philippine people, however, have not given credit to that awkwardly invented fable, and have seen in your nation, ever since your fleet destroyed in a moment the Spanish fleet which was here, in spite of its being assisted by the guns of their two forts, the angel who is the harbinger of their liberty; and they rose like a single wave when, as soon as I trod these shores, I addressed them to gain them over; and they captured, within the period of ten days, nearly the whole garrison of this Province of Cavite, in whose port I have my government—by the consent of the admiral of your triumphant fleet—as well as the garrison of the adjoining Province of Bataam, together with the governors and officials of both provinces; and my valiant hosts are now besieging Manila, the capital, on the south and east, while my forces in the Province of Bulacan, which adjoins this province on the north, and the chief town of which is likewise being besieged by them, nearly surround Manila on the north.

Such is the astonishing triumph which this suffering people has gained in a few days over the conquering race whose traditional valor, of which it is continually bragging, has been humbled on these battlefields and has been succeeded by a great terror; and a people of such warlike qualities, which is, moreover, thoroughly civilized, as nearly two-thirds of them can read and write, and as they have in their midst many men of high attainments in the sciences and arts, should not be sold as if it were a lamb to be sacrificed and exploited for the greed of another nation.

I close by protesting once and a thousand times, in the

name of this people, which knows how to fight for its honor by means of its improvised warriors and artillery men, against the statement published by the Times, mainly for the purpose of casting a blot in history upon its glorious name; a people which trusts blindly in you not to abandon it to the tyranny of Spain, but to leave it free and independent, even if you make peace with Spain, and I offer fervent prayers for the ever-increasing prosperity of your powerful nation, to which and to you I shall show unbounded gratitude, and shall repay with interest that great obligation.

Your humble servant,

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

EMILIO AGUINALDO TO MR. WILLIAMS.

August 1, 1898.

Mr. Williams:

Dear Sir and Distinguished Friend: Impressed by the note of July 8 past, I can only confess that the people of North America have excited, and now excite, the universal admiration not only for the grade of progress and culture to which they have arrived in a very short time, but also for their political constitution, so admirable and inimitable, and for the generosity, honesty, and industry of the men of the Government who have so far ruled the destinies of that great people without an equal in history.

Above all, I thank you sincerely for the kind words which you express in your note quoted above, and I congratulate you with all sincerity on the acuteness and ingenuity which you have displayed in it in painting in an admirable manner the benefits which, especially for me and my leaders, and, in general, for all my compatriots, would be secured by the union of these islands with the United States of America. Ah! that picture, so happy and so finished, is capable of fascinating not only the dreamy imagination of the impressionable Oriental, but also the cold and calculating thoughts of the sons of the North.

This is not saying that I am not of your opinion. I am fully persuaded that the Filipinos will arrive at the height of happiness and glory if in future they can show with raised heads the rights which to-day are shown by the free citizens of North America. These islands will be in effect one of the richest and pleasantest countries of the globe if the capital and industry of North Americans come to develop the soil.

You say all this and yet more will result from annexing ourselves to your people, and I also believe the same since you are my friend and the friend of the Filipinos and have said it. But why should we say it? Will my people believe it?

I, with true knowledge of the character and habits of these people, do not dare assure you of it, since I have only wished to establish a government in order that none of those powers which you call ambitious should be able to take ad-

vantage of our good faith, as has been done in the past by the Spaniards. I have done what they desire, establishing a government in order that nothing important may be done without consulting fully their sovereign will, not only because it was my duty, but also because acting in any other manner they would fail to recognize me as the interpreter of their aspirations and would punish me as a traitor, replacing me by another more careful of his own honor and dignity.

I have said always, and I now repeat, that we recognize the right of the North Americans to our gratitude, for we do not forget for a moment the favors which we have received and are now receiving, but however great those favors may be it is not possible for me to remove the distrust of my compatriots.

These say that if the object of the United States is to annex these islands, why not recognize the government established in them in order in that manner to join with it the same as by annexation?

Why do not the American generals operate in conjunction with the Filipino generals and, uniting the forces, render the end more decisive?

Is it intended, indeed, to carry out annexation against the wish of these people, distorting the legal sense of that word? If the revolutionary government is the genuine representative by right and deed of the Filipino people, as we have proved when necessary, why is it wished to oppress instead of gaining their confidence and friendship?

It is useless for me to represent to my compatriots the favors received through Admiral Dewey, for they assert that up to the present the American forces have shown not an active, only a passive co-operation, from which they suppose that the intention of these forces are not for the best. They assert, besides, that it is possible to suppose that I was brought from Hongkong to assure those forces by my presence that the Filipinos would not make common cause with the Spaniards, and that they have delivered to the Filipinos the arms abandoned by the former in the Cavite Arsenal, in order to save themselves much labor, fatigue, blood, and treasure that a war with Spain would cost.

But I do not believe these unworthy suspicions. I have full confidence in the generosity and philanthropy which shine in characters of gold in the history of the privileged people of the United States, and for that reason, invoking the friend-

ship which you profess for me and the love which you have for my people, I pray you earnestly, as also the distinguished generals who represent your country in these islands, that you entreat the Government at Washington to recognize the revolutionary government of the Filipinos, and I, for my part, will labor with all my power with my people that the United States shall not repent their sentiments of humanity in coming to the aid of an oppressed people.

Say to the Government at Washington that the Filipino people abominate savagery, that in the midst of their past misfortunes they have learned to love liberty, order, justice, and civil life, and that they are not able to lay aside their own wishes when their future lot and history are under discussion. Say, also, that I and my leaders know what we owe to our unfortunate country, that we know how to admire and are ready to imitate the disinterestedness, the abnegation, and the patriotism of the grand men of America, among whom stands pre-eminent the immortal General Washington.

You and I both love the Filipinos; both see their progress, their prosperity, and their greatness. For this we should avoid any conflict which would be fatal to the interests of both peoples, who should always be brothers. In this you will acquire a name in the history of humanity and an ineradicable affection in the hearts of the Filipino people. (From General Aguinaldo to Mr. Williams, United States Consul.)

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